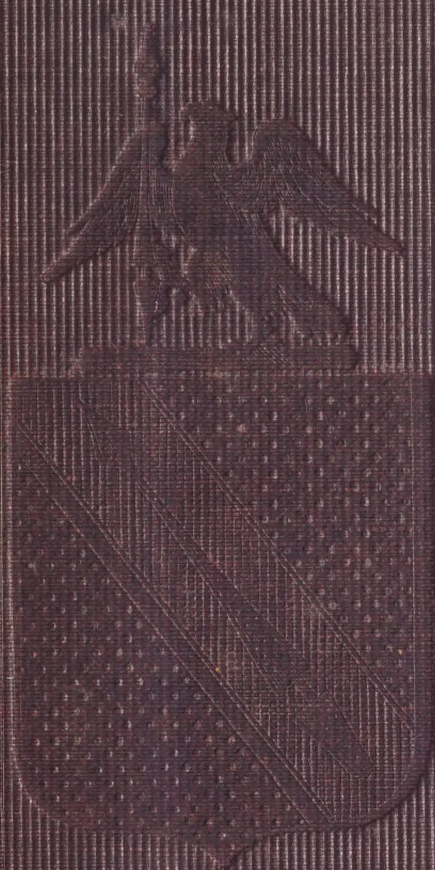


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THE
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VOL. IV.

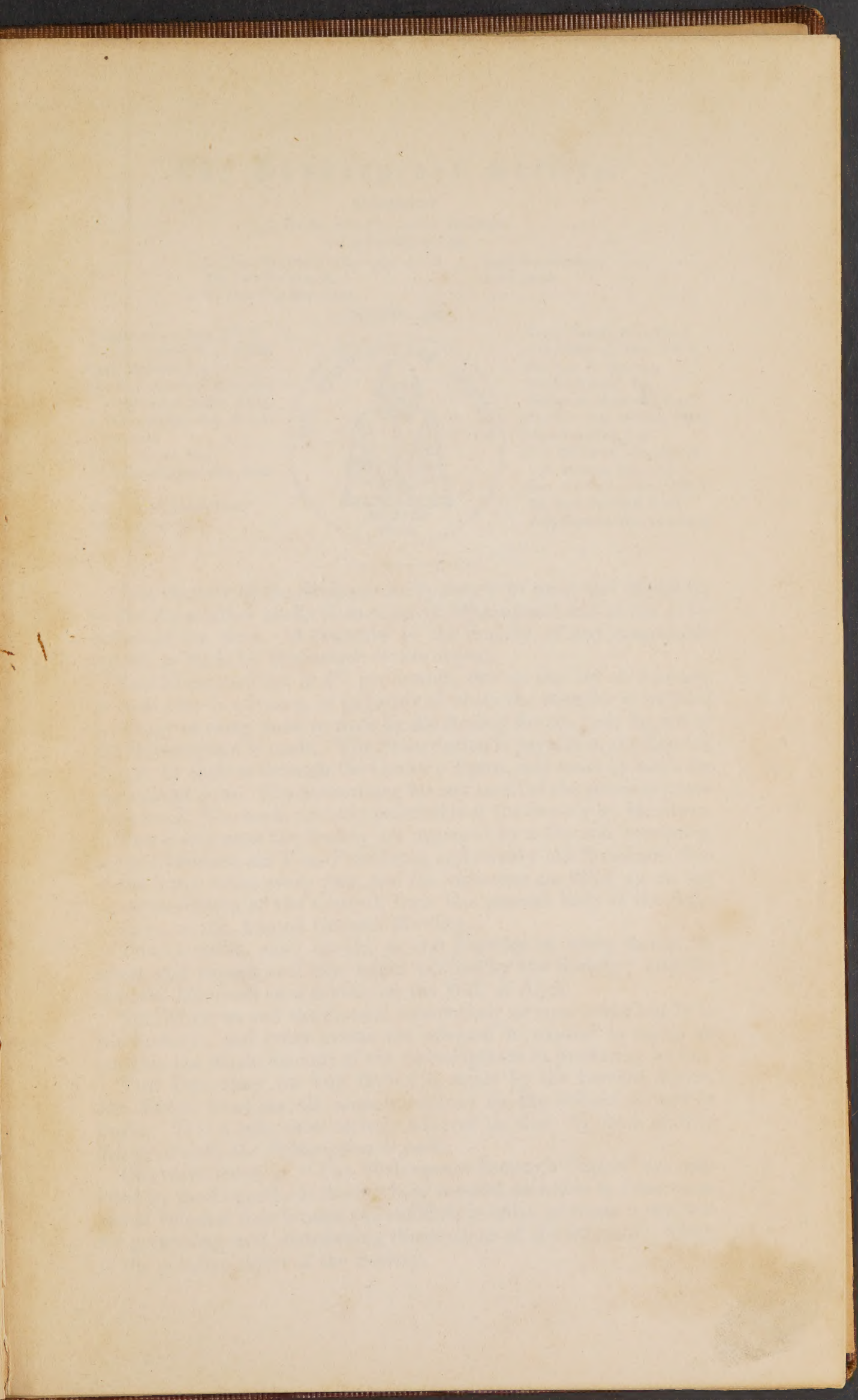






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*** This last work has been unavoidably delayed beyond the year to the Subscription of which it belongs, on account of the variety of its illustrations and other matters. It is now, however, confidently hoped that it will be ready for delivery before the next General Meeting, in April.

FOR 1849.

VOL. IV. of "THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY'S PAPERS."

PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION.

An Engraving of the CHANDOS PORTRAIT, by permission of the President, the Rt. Hon. Earl of Ellesmere, by Mr. Cousins, A.R.A.
 Vol. II. of Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company. By J. Payne Collier.
 A Selection from Oldys's MS. Notes to Langbaine's Dramatic Poets. By Peter Cunningham.
 20th February, 1849.

THE
SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY'S
P A P E R S.

VOL. IV.



LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY.

1849.

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P R E F A C E.

In consequence of its interest and novelty, the Council has directed the insertion in the present volume of "Papers" of a document, which may be said not strictly to belong to the period for the illustration of the Drama, Poetry, and Stage of which the Shakespeare Society was established. It relates, however, to no less dramatists than Dryden and Killigrew, and to no less actors than Hart and Mohun, who figured on the boards of London theatres not merely prior to the Restoration, but prior to the Suppression of the Stage by the Orders of 1642 and 1647. An apology for its publication seems, therefore, scarcely required.

Of the other contributions to this, the fourth, volume of our Shakespearian miscellany it is not necessary to say more, than that all of them possess peculiar and varied claims to notice in relation to the immediate objects of our inquiries. Some of the articles are of considerable importance, and the

Members who have forwarded them merit the best thanks of those who take an interest in such subjects.

The volume would have been issued earlier, but for some delay occasioned, in part at least, by arrangements for the engraving, by Mr. Cousins, of the Chandos Portrait of Shakespeare, now the property of our noble President. It will be accompanied by a dissertation on all the known, or imputed, likenesses of the great Dramatist, of the size of the ordinary publications of the Society.

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THE
SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY'S
P A P E R S.

ART. I.—*The Will of Thomas Phaer, the poet and translator
from Virgil.*

Thomas Phaer, a copy of whose will I enclose as a communication to "The Shakespeare Society's Papers," was the earliest English translator of any extensive portion of Virgil. Little has hitherto been known about him. He was born in Pembroke-shire, and educated at Oxford and Lincoln's Inn. Sir Thomas Chaloner commends him as "a most skilful physician;" and he describes himself, on the title-page of the first edition of his translation of Virgil, as "Thomas Phaer, Esq., Sollicitour to the King and Quenes Maiesties, attending their honorable counsaile in the Marchies of Wales."

It was known before that the Epitaph on Phaer, in the church of Kilgerran, in Pembroke-shire, was written by George Ferrers, the poet, but not previously known that it was written at the request, as the will shows, of Phaer himself.¹ Nor was it previously known that Phaer was a married man, and that he had left a widow and children—small enough circumstances in biography, it is true, but of importance when

¹ Our readers will not be sorry to see in a note the Epitaph on Phaer, which was written by B. Googe, and printed in his "Eglogs, Epytaphes,

the person to whom they relate is distinguished, as Phaer is distinguished, in the literature of his country.

[*Extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of
Canterbury.*]

“In the name of gode amen, The xijth daye of the moneth
of August, the yere of o^r Lorde God, a thowsand fyue hun-
and Sonettes,” 1563: from that time to the present it has never been
republished, and is as follows :

“AN EPYTAPHE OF MAISTER THOMAS PHAYRE.

“The hawtie verse that Maro wrote,
made Rome to wonder muche,
And mervayle none; for why? the style
and waightynes was suche,
That all men judged Parnassus mount
had clefte her selfe in twayne,
And brought forth one that seemd to drop
from out Minervæ’s brayne.
But wonder more may Bryttayne great,
when Phayre dyd florysh late,
And barreyne tong with swete accord
reduced to such estate,
That Virgil’s verse had greater grace,
in forrayne foote obtaynde,
Than in his own, who, whilst he lyved,
eche other poet staynde.
The noble H. Hawarde once,
that raught eternall fame,
With mighty style did bryng a pece
of Virgil’s worke in frame.
And Grimaold gave the lyke attempt,
and Douglas wan the ball,
For famous wyt in Scottysh ryme,
had made an ende of all.
But all these same did Phayre excell,
I dare presume to wryte,
As much as doth Apolloe’s beames
the dymmest starre in lyght.

dred and syxtie, and the yere of the reigne of o^r sou'raigne lady Elizabet, by the grace of God Quene of Eynghond, Fraunce, and Eyrlond, defender of the faith, etc., the seconde, I, Thomas Phaer, of Kilgerran, in the Dioc of Sainte Davids, being of whole mynd and good and prfecte remembraunce, lawde and praise be vnto allmightie Gode, make and ordeigne this my prsente testament concernyng herein my laste Will, in man'r and forme followinge, that is to say:—First, I comende my soule vnto Allmightie God, my maker and redemer: and my body to be bured in the p'ishe church of Kilgerran, wth a stone vpon my grave, in man' of a marble stone, with suche Scripture thereupon, graven in brasse, as shalbe devised by my frynd Mr. George fferers: Item, I doe gyve and bequeth vnto Gruffyth ap Eynon, my sonne in lawe, the somme of twentie pounds, vpon condicion that he do make vnto my doughter Elynor, his wiffe, a good, sure, and sufficient estate in the lawe of and in all that his two tenements and

The envious fates (O pytie great !)
 had great disdayne to see,
 That us amongst there shuld remayne
 so fine a wyt as he:
 And, in the mydst of all his toyle,
 dyd force hym hence to wende,
 And leave a Worke unperfyd so,
 That never man shall ende."

The death of Phaer was accelerated, if not produced, by an injury he sustained in the right hand. It will be seen that his will is dated 12 August, 1560, and he had finished the ninth book of Virgil, as we learn at the end of it, on 3rd April, preceding: he then set about the tenth book, which he left unfinished. In 1562, William Wightman, who calls himself Receptour of Wales, edited the nine books and part of the tenth, as Phaer had left them, telling the reader, that in consequence of the accident, the translator was obliged to sign the last lines of his version with his left hand, in the following form, "*Thomas Phaer, olim tuus, nunc Dei.*" There can be little doubt that his name to his original will, had it been preserved, would have been found to have been subscribed also with his left hand.

lands, wth the appurtenaunces, called place ygoedtree, sett and liynge in the parrish of llanvihaughell penbedow, and place trebberveth, sett and lying in the parrish of Maynordeyvie, to have and to holde to her for and during the terme of her naturall life, this condicion of my saide sonne in lawe truly p'rformed, then I wolle that the saide xx^{li} be paied vnto hym within one yere nexte after my decesse by my executrix hereafter named: Item, I gyve and bequeth vnto my syrūte, Rees Tucker, v^{li}: Item, I wolle that my wiffe doe paye v^{li} where she doth know, by an apointemente betwene her and me: Item, I doe giue and bequeath unto Anne, my wiffe, my whole lease vppon the demeanse of Kilgerran, to haue and to holde to her during her life naturall; and yf yt shall happen my saide wiffe to deceasse before the yeres of my saide lease be expired, as God yt forbid, then I will that my saide lease, of and vppon the premisses, doe wholly remaine vnto Mary, my doughter; and yf yt shall happen my saide doughter, Mary, to deceas, as God yt defend, befor the yeres comprised in the saide lease be expired, then I wolle that the saide lease, of and vppon the prmisses in man' aforsaide, shall wholly revert vnto Elizabeth, my doughter, to have and to holde to her, to her executors and assignes, untell the yeres thereof be fully past, expired, and gonne. And further, yf my wiffe at any time after my decesse be disposed to marie, that then I wolle, and my veary hernest desyre and request is to my wiffe, that she doe procure hym whome she doth dispose to marie to gyve sufficient bands to the vse of my saide children; that he shall not alienat nor surrender the saide lease, nor shall not doe any facte or acte that may be an occasion of forfeiture thereof; and, finally, that he shall not doe, nor suffer to be donne, any thing or things that maye or shalbe preiudiciall or hurtfull to my saide children in the hauinge, enioyenge, and possessing of the saide lease, of and vppon the premisses in manner as is before expressed in this my presente testament: all the rest of my goods and cattells,

leases and farmes, moveables and unmoveables, I doe wholly giue and bequeth vnto Anne, my wiffe, whome I do make my sole and full executrix by this my present testamente.

Witnesses :

JOHN BRADSHAW, the Younger, Esquire.

REES GWYN, gent.

MORGAN AP RE, gent."

&c. &c.

There are two copies of this will in the Office of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury—the copy in the Registry, and a loose contemporary copy, on foolscap paper. The original does not appear to have been preserved.

Phaer wrote the story of Owen Glendour for the "Mirror for Magistrates;" and Warton *had seen* "a ballad on Gad's Hill, by Faire," which he attributes to the translator, Phaer. It does not appear that the ballad by Faire illustrated Shakespeare, or Warton would have told us so, and would probably have identified it with the ballad on "The Robbery at gaddes hill," entered in the Registers of the Stationers' Company in 1558-9,¹ of which he says, "I know not how far it might contribute to illustrate Shakespeare's 'Henry the Fourth.'—The title is promising."

PETER CUNNINGHAM.

Kensington, 20 October, 1848.

¹ See Mr. Collier's "Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company, (printed for the Shakespeare Society) vol. i., p. 20.

ART. II.—*Account of an early Italian Poem on the Story of Romeo and Juliet.*

Not long since, I met with an old Italian version of the beautiful tale of Romeo and Juliet, of which I cannot discover that the commentators on Shakespeare have taken any notice, and which I therefore presume was unknown to them. As our great dramatist was certainly acquainted with Italian, it is not at all impossible that he made some use of the production in question, or at all events that he was aware of its existence, and had read it; for this reason it will not unfitly occupy a few pages of the next volume of "The Shakespeare Society's Papers."

The editors of Shakespeare have mentioned various foreign prose narratives, those of Luigi da Porto, Bandello, and Boisteau, for instance; but they allude to none in verse. What follows will therefore, at least, have the merit of novelty; and I shall introduce it without more preface than merely to notice that it bears date in the same year as the third impression of Luigi da Porto's prose relation, and nine years before the appearance of Arthur Brooke's poem, on the same subject, in English. Luigi da Porto's novel came out in 1529, 1535, and 1553; and Arthur Brooke's poem in 1562.

I copy the title-page of the Italian poem exactly, for the more precise information of those who may be bibliographically curious. The size of the little volume, of only 44 leaves, is small 8vo., or 12mo.

"L'Infelice Amore de i due Fedelissimi Amanti Giulia e Romeo, scritto in Ottava Rima da Clitia, nobile Veronese, ad Ardeo suo. Con Privilegio. In Venegia appresso Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari et Fratelli. MDLIII."

Clitia, therefore, whoever the lady might be, was a noble native of the city where the scene is laid, and Ardeo, to whom

she addresses herself, was most likely resident there. Who they might be, or whether they were not purely imaginary persons, is a question I am not at all in a condition to decide. I shall follow the story exactly as Clitia treats it in the favourite octave stanza, making such quotations as seem necessary, and adding now and then, in a note at the bottom of the page, such a translation as may be useful to the merely English reader, and which the Italian reader, accustomed to the charming versification of Boiardo, Berni, Ariosto, Tasso, and a host of other poets who chose this form of writing, will, I trust, know how to excuse, if not to pardon.

The production is divided into four Cantos, and the first opens thus :

“I duo fideli et infelici amanti
Canto, anzi piango la spietata sorte,
E chi narrar potrebbi senza pianti
La mesta vita lor, l'aspra la morte ?
Di Giulia e di Romeo fidi tra quanti
Mai servir fe nella amorosa corte
Il miserabil caso, Ardeo gentile,
Dir vi vol Clitia vostra in suono humile.”

It is to be remarked that for greater accuracy I have observed, and shall observe, both the spelling and punctuation of the original. It is very well known that Giolito was among the most beautiful and accurate printers of his time ; but, nevertheless, various errors will be detected, and it seems to me that, for some reason or other, this poem was hastily printed—possibly to take advantage of the popularity of Luigi da Porto's novel, the new edition of which also bore date in 1553.

After another stanza, addressed to Ardeo, the writer of the poem proceeds to fix the period when Romeo and Giulia (as she gives the name) lived.

“Gia cent’ anni e cinquanta hor son passati
 Che nella citta nostra unica e vera
 Mentre ella da gli egregi et honorati
 Principi della Scala frenat’ era,
 Fur duo famiglie, che ne tempi andati
 Hebbero insieme inimicitia fiera,
 Cappelletti e Montecchi, illustri e antiche
 Case in Verona, e meno allor nimiche.”

So that, according to this authority, the incidents happened in Verona a hundred and fifty years before, while the city was governed by princes of the line of La Scala. Then we are told that Antonio, the father of Giulia, was esteemed by all parties in Verona, and that being very wealthy, he was in the habit of giving banquets and balls for the delight of the citizens and nobility. Out of a masked ball arose all the calamities of the two lovers:

“Perche dal amor suo spinto il maggiore
 Dell’ altra fattion Romeo Montecchi
 Par che piu aitato da animoso cuore
 Che da ragion seguirla s’apparecchi.
 Ne generando in lui nessun timore
 Lo sparso sangue, e gli homicidii vecchi
 Travestito, sicur si persuase
 Poter entra nelle nimiche case.”¹

¹ Which may be thus put into English:

Romeo, impell’d by love, a noble youth,
 A Montacute and of the adverse faction,
 Relying more upon his heart of truth
 Than upon reason in this dangerous action,
 Devoid of fear, and heeding not, forsooth,
 The ancient feud and threaten’d satisfaction,
 Secure in his own courage, dar’d adventure
 The mansion of the Capulet to enter.

However, as it was a masked ball, Romeo put on some disguise, (we are not told that it was the dress of a pilgrim) and there saw Giulia. They instantly became mutually enamoured.

“Haveva Antonio una leggiadra figlia
Della vecchiezza sua sortegno e speme.
Cui il giovane ch’a donna allor simiglia
Gia accesa ha del suo amor con l’altre insieme :
Ella lui mira hor pallida, hor vermiglia,
E le bellezze sue stimando estreme
L’imagin lor nell’ anima riceve
Mentre il fuoco d’amor con gli occhi beve.”

Romeo dances with Giulia, and they afterwards sit down, the lady being placed with Romeo on one side of her and Marcuccio Vertio on the other; and then we come to the following stanza :

Di Giulia l’una man per sua ventura
De Vertii un nobil giovane tenea
Detto Marcuccio, il qual di sua natura
Fredde le man la state, e’l verno avea.
Loda il gentil Romeo la sua ventura
Del favor che da Giulia riceva,
Favore onde ne nacquero l’interne
Fiamme ch’ad ambi fur ne petti eterne.”¹

¹ The meaning, which is not very clear, seems to be this:

One of her hands Mercutio chanc’d to hold,
A noble youth, a Vertio by birth,
But of his nature he was dull and cold,
And cold his hand, e’en in his highest mirth.
But Romeo praised his chance a thousandfold
To clasp her other hand, of matchless worth,
With fervid grasp: she not forbad the favour,
And hence the flames that burnt in both for ever.

Romeo secretly declares his love, and it is willingly accepted; but, among other things, he asks Giulia,

“Ma come haver poss’io speranza alcuna
Poi che fin hor, come ho gia udito et odo,
L’una e l’altra di noi famiglia visse
In odio sempre, e in sanguinose risse?”

The answer of the lady is neither very clear nor satisfactory, and, at an interview at night, she suggests that Frate Tricastro (the Friar Lawrence of Shakespeare) should unite them.

“Frate Batto Tricastro de minori
Di San Francisco e secretario intero
Del cor, non che di miei passati errori,
Sendo voi, signor mio fermo in pensiero
Chabbian debito fine a i nostri amori,
Ecco il sol fido istrumento vero.
Ne piu vi dico, ma fin che’l ciel vole
Nel petto di noi tre stian le parole.”

Romeo makes the proposal to the friar, who consents to perform the ceremony, in the hope that the union of the lovers would put an end to the feud of the houses. The marriage does not take place until the second canto, in which Giulia prevails upon her mother to accompany her to the Friar’s cell; and the rite is performed in an inner apartment, while the mother remains unsuspectingly in the outer. Of the marriage we are told:

“Romeo seguendo la Christiana norma
Come si suol con assentir presente
A quella il dito d’aureo cerchio informa,
E con nodo fedel d’una parola
Duo furon poscia in una carne sola.”

The young lady returns home with her mother, and at night Romeo finds his way, it does not exactly appear how,

to his young wife's bed; and here the authoress of the poem becomes rather warm in her description.

“Chi dira 'l gaudio estremo ch'ei sentiro?
 Chi le soavi lor parole rotte
 Hor da questo, hor da quel dolce sospiro
 Ch'i basci spessi, dal cui mel condotte
 L'alme alle labra fuor quasi n'usciro?
 E chi l'alta dolcezza che la notte
 Congiunti in un gustaro ambi egualmente?
 Dillo, amor tu, ch' a cio fusti presente.”

The quarrel and fatal conflict with Tebaldo, *giouin de Cappelletti*, soon after follows, and Romeo, after writing a letter to his wife, and having a brief interview, flies to Mantua; but we do not hear that he was banished from Verona. Giulia is disconsolate, and, her health declining, the mother advises the father to get her a husband, observing that *gia correi venti anni*, which is considerably older than she is represented by Shakespeare. Her parents resolve to marry her to the Conte di Lodron, and the mother makes the proposal to her daughter, but suspects, from the way in which it is received, *che la figlia ami altro huomo*. The father puts his commands upon her:

“Quel ch' a voi far in cio, donna, appartiensi
 Vorrei che senza indugio s'esequisse,
 Mentre quel faccio anch' io ch'a me conviensi:”

and with this injunction he leaves her.

In the opening of the third canto, we find the mother making another appeal to her daughter, who entreats to be allowed to consult the friar, undertaking to be bound by his advice. The old lady rejoices in this degree of seeming compliance; and when Giulia hastens to Tricastro, on entering his cell she exclaims,

“Padre, se'l ciel non ci remedia, io pero!”

adding, of Romeo,

“Sua sposa e Giulia, e d'altri mai non fia
Segua che vuol, periglio alcun non curo.”

Then we come to the friar's resource, which is the same in all the versions, and is thus explained :

“Ma perche 'l tempo fugge, e conosciuto
Ho del tuo cuor deliberato ardire
Diro cio ch' io far per darti aiuto
E quello ancor ch'a te convien patire.
Io ho un liquor che se da te bevuto
Fia duo di quasi ti fara dormire,
Ma porratti in periglio tanto estremo
Che con tutto il tuo ardir ne temo e tremo.”¹

He assures her, however, that she need apprehend nothing—that the draught is composed only of sacred herbs of great virtue, and that he would duly inform Romeo, who would arrive in time to convey her from the tomb :

“Cio a Romeo farò noto, si che meco
Quivi a tempo serà per liberarti
E ne andrai tratta dal tomba seco.”

Giulia consents, and returns to her mother, while the father is overjoyed at his daughter's compliance: preparations for

¹ This is the great incident of the story, and the stanza may be given in English as follows:—

But since time presses, I must needs depend
Upon thy firmness and thy constancy.
I'll tell thee how my aid I may thee lend,
And what you must prepare for patiently.
I have a draught, if taken, will suspend
Life for two days, and make thee seem to die ;
But such the peril, while you death resemble,
With all thy courage that I fear and tremble.

her marriage with the Conte di Lodron are then made, and the whole city of Verona,

“Vedea la nuttial sperata festa,
Ch’ in esequie a cangiarsi fu si presta.”

The heroine is found dead on the morning of her nuptials: the physicians called in declare that she poisoned herself, and she is buried by the friar. In the mean time, Tricastro had sent to Romeo, but the messenger failed to inform him what happened, not on account of the prevalence of the plague, but because Romeo had just ridden out of Mantua: on his way he met with a servant, who informed him of the sudden death of Giulia. Romeo in despair provides himself with poison, and at night enters Verona.

“Quivi carico di ferro, e di istrumenti
Che glierano vuopo al tristo tempo, armato
Havendo homai delle terrene genti
I sensi il sonno tacito occupato,
Solo con passi dubbiosi e lenti,
Per non esser di alcun forse sturbato,
Cheto prese il camino ove sapea
Che Giulia sua riposa eterno havea.”¹

The third canto ends with the descent of Romeo into the tomb of the Capulets, where he sees the body of his wife.

Each canto commences with some extraneous and excur-

¹ Which is thus, tolerably literally, rendered.

With iron crow, or other instrument
Convenient for the task he undertook,
What time dull sleep all earthly discontent
Had close shut up, and none could on him look,
Alone with slow and doubtful step he went,
That none might hear him on the way he took
Toward that silent tomb, wherein, he knows,
His Giulia lay in calm and last repose.

sive stanzas, and the opening of the fourth is an address by the authoress to the Muse, entreating aid for the completion of the tragic story. Romeo, having repeatedly kissed the pale cheek of Giulia, declares he will not survive her.

“Trahe di seno il mortifero liquore :
Poi senza indugio, ah misero, chi giugne
A se rio passo, tutto l'inghiottisce,
Ne di morte il terror gia lo smarrisce.”

Romeo is on the point of expiring of the strong poison he has taken, when Giulia awakes; and, finding a man by her side, at first suspects that she has been betrayed by the Friar. Romeo, in a transport of joy, imagines that the poison he supposed Giulia to have taken had not proved mortal.

“Onde a lei che da se gridando intanto
Lui rispigne con minnacioso volto,
Disse, deh vita mia, lasciate il pianto,
Sono il vostro Romeo con voi sepolto,
Che poi ch'esser voi morto ho udito, a canto,
A voi morir anch' io mi son risolto
E pero prima non mi sono ucciso
Per morir vostro, e non da voi diviso.”¹

Finding that Romeo has poisoned himself, she declares that she will not survive him, but he conjures her to live:

¹ The meaning, I apprehend, is this:

He uttered a loud scream, and she him eyed
With threatening look, not knowing it was he.
My life, my soul! abandon grief, he cried,
I am thy Romeo, buried here with thee,
Come here to die, to lay me at thy side,
Believing thou wert dead; but now I see
Thou livest still, we ne'er again will sever,
But, dead or living, thou art mine for ever!

“Deh vivete potendo, e dio pregate
 Che se disgiunti n’ha la sorte ria
 Qua giu, si unisca in ciel la sua pietate !”

She replies,

“Ahi, gridea, ahi hasa me, vivro dunq’io
 Morendo voi, che la mia vita sete ?”

Romeo, no longer able to maintain the struggle against the poison, expires in Giulia’s arms—*spirava l’anima il misero*. The anxious Friar comes to the churchyard, in hopes of being in time, and, hearing a low moaning in the tomb, apprehends that Giulia has waked rather earlier than he had calculated. He descends into the vault, and, as soon as Giulia sees him, she accuses him of being the cause of all, and especially of Romeo’s death :

“Ecco il meschino, ecco Romeo qui meco ;
 Voi l’uccideste, e la sua Giulia seco.”

She falls senseless on the body of her husband, but afterwards, reviving a little, Tricastro endeavours to induce her to quit the place, and dedicate herself to God. All his entreaties are vain, for,

“ella, ch’ e priva
 Di speme, furibonda tutta via
 Pur cerca al suo morir trovar via :”

and then we come rapidly to the conclusion of the tragedy.

“Mentre accoppiar i bassi ultimi finge
 Et al frate tutt hor le spalle volta,
 Il suo Romeo con la sinistra cinge
 E tutta in se tien l’anima raccolta,
 Con l’altra man chiude la labra, e stringe
 Le nari sì, ch’indi allo spirto tolta

La via di star per troppo spirto in vita
 Scoppia, e da insieme al duol fine, e alla vita."¹

This seems rather an awkward mode of dying; and it is much better managed in Shakespeare, and in some of his authorities.

This stanza is in fact the termination of the main poem, but it is followed by thirty-five others, headed "*Rime d'Ardeo in morte di Clitia sua*," so that the poetess died before the person to whom she addressed the story, which has appeared in so many shapes in all languages. In England it is quite certain that it had assumed a dramatic form at least thirty years before the incidents were adopted by Shakespeare.

A MEMBER FROM THE FIRST.

London, July 1, 1848.

- ¹ She feign'd a cause, and, stooping to the ground,
 While the good friar a moment turn'd away,
 In her left arm her Romeo's corse she wound,
 And, summoning her strength to the essay,
 With her right hand she closed her lips, and bound
 Her nostrils fast, that breath could find no way.
 Life burst its bonds, and by this fearful strife
 At once she ended misery and life.

ART. III.—*Some account of the popular tracts which composed the Library of Captain Cox, a humourist, who took a part in the Hock Tuesday Play performed before Queen Elizabeth, at Kenilworth, in 1575.*

It is difficult for those who have not had the opportunity of searching for the sources of illustration which are chiefly necessary in any minute criticisms on our early dramatists, to understand the vast degree of importance attached to those frivolous pieces which may not inaptly be styled our early vernacular domestic literature. Yet the subject is one of very easy explanation. The more popular, the more frivolous the contents of a pamphlet may be, the more likely is it to contain allusions to the manners, and scraps of the colloquial language of the period; and these of course are fundamental in many dramatic compositions. Books of tales, especially, are often replete with references of this nature, and hence their value in elucidating the obscurity in which Time has enveloped the "humours" of the early comic drama.

Viewed in this light alone, without any reference to the history of romance, our early fugitive literature is of vast importance. To the dramatic critic, a black letter edition of Tom Thumb would be a treasure far superior to a hundred-weight of more serious books. Tom Thumb's "fading ghost" reminds us of a similar passage in Henry VI., and is a good illustration of what was then a common phrase, not peculiar to Shakespeare. When the miller swallows in Tom Thumb, he exclaims in agony—

"Ah! woe is me, the miller cryed;
Alack and well-a-day;
Some spiteful imp does in me hide,
Which does *the antic play*."

Does not the reader at once fix the meaning of the term *antic*, or buffoon, with more certainty than the learned reasonings or the commentators afford?

“Behold, distraction, frenzy, and amazement,
Like witless *antics*, one another meet.”

Troilus and Cressida, v. 3.

Instances of this kind could be almost indefinitely multiplied, but the present will be sufficient to illustrate the truth of the preceding remarks.

Nearly three hundred years ago, Captain Cox, of Coventry, was a diligent collector of such pieces. His library and old black-letter ballads, “fair wrapt up in parchment and bound with a whipcord,” have excited the envy of succeeding antiquaries: if such a collection could now be formed, it would realize the purchase-money of a small estate. But, alas! gone are the days when “ryght merrie histories” in bright black-letter were to be picked up on stalls, and Caxtons purchased in Holland for pence. Laneham, clerk of the Council-Chamber door, and also keeper of the same, in giving an account of Queen Elizabeth’s entertainments at Kenilworth, introduces Captain Cox as “an odd man,” and gives a jocose description of his library, evidently meaning to raise a smile at the Captain’s expence:—

“But aware, keep bak, make room noow, heer they cum.
And fyrst Captin Cox, an od man, I promiz yoo: by profes-
sion a mason, and that right skilfull, very cunning in fens,
and hardy az Gawin, for hiz tonsword hangs at his tablz eend;
great oversight hath he in matters of storie; for az for King
Arthurz book, Huon of Burdeaus, The Foor sons of Aymon,
Bevys of Hampton, the Squyre of Lo Degree, the Knight of
Courtesy and the Lady Faguell, Frederick of Gene, Sir
Eglamoour, Syr Tryamoour, Syr Lamwell, Syr Isenbras,
Syr Gawyn, Olyver of the Castl, Lucres and Eurialus,

Virgil's Life, the Castl of Ladiez, the Wido Edyth, the King and the Tanner, Frier Rous, Howleglas, Gargantua, Robin Hood, Adam Bel, Clim of the Clough and William of Cloudesley, the Churl and the Burd, the Seaven Wise Masters, the Wife Lapt in a Morels Skin, the Sak full of Nuez, the Seargeaunt that became a Fryar, Skogan, Collyn Clout, the Fryar and the Boy, Elynor Rumming, and the Nutbrooun Maid, with many moe then I rehearz heere, I beleeve hee have them all at hiz fingers endz.

“Then in philosophy, both morall and naturall, I think hee be az naturally overseen, beside poetrie and astronomie, and oother hid sciences, az I may gesse by the omberty of his books, whearof part, az I remember, the Shepherdz Kalender, the Ship of Foolz, Danielz Dreamz, the Booke of Fortune, Stans Puer ad Mensam, the Hy Wey to the Spittl-house, Julian of Brainford's Testament, the Castle of Love, the Booget of Demaunds, the Hundred Mery Tales, the Book of Riddels, the Seaven Sororz of Wemen, the Prooud Wives Paternoster, the Chapman of a Peneworth of Wit; beside hiz auncient playz, Yooth and Charitee, Hikskorner, Nu gize, Impacient Poverty, and herewith Doctor Boord's Breviary of Health. What should I rehearz heer? what a bunch of ballets and songs, all auncient: Az, Broom broom on Hil, So wo iz me begon, Trolly lo, Over a whinny Meg, Hey ding a ding, Bony Lass upon a green, My bony on gave me a bek, By a bank az I lay, and a hundred more he hath, fair wrapt up in parchement and bound with a whipcord.

“And az for allmanaks of antiquitee, a point for ephemeridees, I weene hee can sheaw from Jazper Laet of Antwarp, unto Nostradam of Frauns, and thens untoo oour John Securiz of Salisbury. To stay ye no longer heerin, I dare say hee hath az fair a library for theez sciencez, and az many goodly monuments, both in proze and poetry, and at afternoonz can talk az much without book az ony inholder betwixt Brainford and Bagshot, what degree soever he be.”

Captain Cox was the director of the ancient pageant of Hock Tide, on the occasion of Elizabeth's visit to Kenilworth, and as such is introduced into Laneham's Letter and Sir W. Scott's novel. He is described as riding valiantly on his hobbyhorse before the bands of English, high-trussed, and gartered above the knee, and brandishing his longsword, as became an experienced man of war, who had fought under the Queen's father, bluff King Harry, at the siege of Boulogne. The Captain's fame long survived, and his ghost is introduced into one of Jonson's masques:—

“This Captain Cox, by St. Mary,
Was at Bullen with king Ha-ry;
And, if some do not vary,
Had a goodly librāry.”

This “goodly library” it is now our province to describe; and perhaps the clearest method will be to take the titles in the order in which they occur in Laneham's Letter.

1. *King Arthur.*

The romance of King Arthur was printed by Caxton, and has been republished by Southey in 1817. There are several early editions. One before me, printed by Copland, in 1557, is entitled “The Hystorye of the mooste noble and worthy prynce, Kynge Arthur.”

2. *Huon of Bordeaux.*

A long, heavy, French romance, translated into English at an early period. The third edition of the translation appeared in 1601. Shakespeare probably took the name of Oberon from this old romance. I have recently seen an imperfect copy of an ancient edition of this translation, printed in folio, in double columns, and illustrated with rude woodcuts, certainly printed before Shakespeare could have commenced writing for the stage, and in all probability not long

after the year 1560. The translation was made by Lord Berners, at the request of the Earl of Huntingdon, and extracts from it are given in "Illustrations of Fairy Mythology," Shakespeare Society, 1845.

3. *The Four Sons of Aymon.*

A French romance, by Huon de Villeneuve. An English translation was printed at London by Wynkyn de Worde, in 1504, at the request of the Earl of Oxford; and another edition, by Copland, appeared in 1554. Heber's copy of the latter sold for £32.

4. *Bevis of Hampton.*

An early English metrical romance, printed by Pynson, Copland, East, Bishop, Stansby — all early printers. There are several early MS. copies of it. It occurs on the books of the Stationers' Company, in 1559, 1561, and 1569.—Collier's Extracts, pp. 16, 38, 200.

5. *The Squire of Lowe Degree.*

A very pleasing romance, of which the only copy known is in the British Museum, printed by Copland, but without date—

"It was a squyer of lowe degré,
That loved the king's dowghter of Hungré."

It is mentioned in the Registers of the Stationers' Company for 1560, "recevyd of John Kynge, for his lycense for pryntynge of the Squyre of Low Deggré." (Collier's Extracts, p. 26.) Reprinted by Ritson, *Metrical Romances*, vol. iii.

6. *The Knight of Courtesy and the Lady Faguell.*

A poem of five hundred lines, printed by Copland about

1560. A copy of it is in the Bodleian Library. It commences—

“ In Faguell, a fayre countré,
A great lorde somtyme dyd dwell,
Which had a lady so fayre and fre,
That all men good of her dyd tel.”

Reprinted in Ritson's Metrical Romances, vol. iii.

7. *Frederick of Gene.*

An old tale in black-letter, thus entitled, “ This mater treateth of a merchauntes wyfe that afterwarde went lyke a man, and becam a great lorde, and was called Frederyke of Jennen afterwarde.” A fragment of this tract is in Douce's collection.

8. *Syr Eglamour.*

An early English metrical romance. Several MSS. and early printed editions of it are still preserved. It is printed from a MS. at Cambridge, in the Thornton Romances, 4to., 1844.

9. *Syr Tryamour.*

Another similar romance. An early copy of it is in MS. Cantab. Ff. ii. 38, and it was twice printed by Copland. One of Copland's editions was reprinted by Mr. Utterson, 1817.

10. *Syr Lamwell.*

This is the romance of Launfal, which was translated from the French original by the celebrated Marie de France. It was printed by Kynge in 1588, (see Collier's Extracts, p. 15) but only one leaf of his edition (in Douce's collection) is known to exist. As it is curious, and varies considerably from the corresponding passage in Ritson, I give it entire:—

“ That her maidens fairer was,
And also brighter shene,
And of more beautye then the quene :

And also of countenaunce and of hewe.
They would quite hym as trewe,
Yf he myght not stande there til,
He should abyde the kynges wyl.
This verdit was geven before the kyng,
The day was set her in to bryng.
Suerties her founde to come agayne,
Syr Gawayne and syr Ewayne.
Aals! (he sayed) I shal dye;
My lyefe I shal never see with eye.
Eate nor drinke would he never,
But in wepyng and wo was ever:
So is he with sorow nome,
He woulde his endyng day were come!
Eche man for hym was ful wo;
For a large spender then he
Came never in that countree:
Therto was he fiers and bolde;
Never a better in the kynges housholde.
The day was come of his appearing;
They brought the knyght before the kyng,
Hys borowes that hys suertyes was,
To appere before the kynges face.
The kyng let it be rehersed there,
Both the plenty and his answer;
He bad him bryng hys lemon in sight,
And he answeret that he ne myght.
The wordes that I sayed eche one,
Wete ye wel I lyed of none:
Yf I so myght be taken thereby,
In that quarel would I dye!
For thys I say to you alone,
A fairer then she was never none:
But of beautys and of shape,
I am to symple to touche her lape!

There was never man yet, I wate,
 Emperour, kyng, or high estate,
 Where-ever they dwel, far or nere,
 For her fairenes myght be her pere,
 Nor yet come within her boure,
 But if it were for her pleasure.
 I would desyre no more of right,
 But once of her to have a sight:
 Truly, my lorde, for no more would I care,
 Forthwith then to death would I fare;
 Not to displease her sikerly,
 Yet would I ye saw her or I dye.
 But it is not al my willing;
 It is as she wyll, that worthie thing!
 Bryng her forth, the kyng sayes,
 That thou now so fast doest praise,
 To prove the soth that thou sayest of:
 Forsoth, my lord, that can I not.
 The kyng sayed unto hym thore,
 Forsoth, thy disworship hys the more:
 What may we know al hereby,
 But that thou liest loude and hye?
 The barons all had commaundement."

11. *Syr Isenbras.*

A romance, printed by me, from a MS. at Lincoln, in the Thornton Romances, 4to., 1844. Several copies of it exist in MS.; and it was also printed by Copland, from whose edition it was republished by Mr. Utterson.

12. *Syr Gawyn.*

The "Jeste of Sir Gawayne," a romance-poem, was printed by Kinge, in 1558. Four leaves of another edition, printed by John Butler, are preserved in the library of Lambeth Palace, but no perfect copy has yet been discovered. Mr.

Collier mentions the fragment of another edition, printed by Petit. It exists, however, in MS.

13. *Oliver of the Castle.*

A Spanish romance, very popular throughout Europe, and translated into most European languages. "The Historye of Olyver of Castylle and the Fayre Helanye," 4to., 1518.

14. *Lucres and Eurialus.*

"The Historie of Eurialus and Lucretia, written in Latine by Eneas Sylvius, and translated into English by Charles Allen, Gent." 12mo., Lond., 1639. There was an earlier English translation, and the copy here alluded to was probably the *Lucas Urialis*, printed by Kynge, in 1560, and so written in the registers of the Stationers' Company, Collier, p. 26. Norton, however, printed an edition of the story in 1570. See Collier, p. 216.

15. *Virgil's Life.*

"The lyfe of Virgilius, and of his Deth, and many marvayles that he dyd in hys lyfe tyme by whychcrafte and nygramancye, thorough the helpe of the devyls of hell," n. d., but printed by Copland, in 1562. See Collier's Extracts, p. 47. This fictitious personage seems to have been formed on the genuine Virgil, from the subject of his eighth eclogue. The enchanter, among other performances, placed a magical image in the middle of Rome, which communicated to the Emperor Titus all the secret offences committed every day in the city. Virgil also fabricated those brazen statues at Rome, called *Salvatio Romæ*, which were the gods of the provinces conquered by the Romans. Every one of these statues held in its hand a bell framed by magic, and when any province was meditating a revolt, the statue or idol of that country struck his bell.

16. *The Castle of Ladies.*

This is perhaps "The Cyté of Ladyes," 4to. See Dibdin, 466.

17. *The Widow Edyth.*

Rastall printed, in 1525, "The Mery Gestys of one callyd Edyth, the lying Widow." The Widow Edyth appears to have been a female sharper in the neighbourhood of London. The "gestes" are not worth quoting. According to the preface, the widow Edyth was the daughter of John Hankyn, of Exeter; but, he dying, she was brought up and educated by her mother in all kinds of lying and artifice. She afterwards married a person of the name of Ellys, but eloped from him with a servant of the Earl of Wiltshire.

18. *The King and the Tanner.*

A short poetical tale, which Ritson has printed from an early MS. at Cambridge, under the title of "The King and the Barker." It is known to every reader in its more modern form, "A merry, pleasant, and delectable history of King Edward the Fourth and the Tanner of Tamworth," reprinted by Dr. Percy.

19. *Friar Rous.*

"The Historie of Frier Rush; how he came to a house of religion to seeke service, and being entertained by the Priour, was first made under-cooke. Being full of pleasant mirth and delight for young people. Imprinted at London by Edw. All-de, and are to be solde by Francis Grove, dwelling on Snow-hill, 1626," 4to. The earliest known edition of this work was published in 1620, but it originally appeared in 1569, from the press of John Alde. See Collier's Extracts, p. 199. The story is from the German.

20. *Howleglas.*

"Here beginneth a merrie Jest of a man that was called Howleglas, and of many marveyulous thinges and jestes that

he dyd in his life in Eastlande and in many other places," sm. 4to, without date, printed by Copland. A copy of this work is in the British Museum. The following is an average example of the sort of wit it is filled with:—

“Howe that Howleglas, whan that he was a chylde, answered a man that asked the waye.

“Upon a time went Howleglas father and mother out, and left Howleglas within the house. Than cam ther a man ryding half into the dore, and asked, is there nobody within? Than answered the chylde, Yes, there is a man and a halfe, and a horse head. Than said the man, Which is the way to ride? And the child answered and said, there, where the geese go: and than rode the man his way to the geese, and when he came to the geese, they flew into the water. Than wist he not where to ride, but turned again to the child, and said, the gees be flowen into the water, and thus wot I not what to do, or whither to ryde. Then answered the childe, ye must ryde whereas the gees go, and not where they swim. Then departed the man, and rode his way, and marveled of the answer of the childe.”

The following are the titles of some of the tales in this jest-book:—Howe Howleglas, as he was borne, was christened iij. tymes upon one daye: Howe Howleglas was stolen out of a bye-hyve by nyght: How Howleglas was hyred of a pryest: How Hogleglas was made a paryshe clarke: How Howleglas wold flye from a house-top: How Howleglas made hymselfe a physicion, and how he begyled a doctour with his medicines: How Howleglas was put in wages with the foster of Anhalte for to watche upon a tower to se whan his enemies came, and than for to blowe an horne to warne them therof: How Howleglas wan a great deale of mony wyth a poynt of foolyshnesse: How Howleglas deceived iij. Jewes with durt: How Howleglas became a maker of spectacles, and howe he

could fynde no worke in no lande: How Howleglas was desyred to a dyner: How Howleglas wane a piece of cloth of a man of the countrey: How Howleglas gave xx. gilders to xij. poore men, for Christes love: How Howleglas feared his host with a dead woulfe: How Howleglas flied a hounde, and gave the skyn for halfe hys dynner: How Howleglas served a Holander with a rosted aple: How Howleglas made a woman that sold erthen pottes to smyte them all in pieces: How Howleglas brake the stayres that the munkes shulde come down on the matyns, and how thei fell downe into the yarde: How Howleglas bought creame of the women of the countrey that brought it for to sell; How Howleglas came to a scholer to make verses with him to the use of reason: How Howleglas was sicke at moten: How Howleglas deceived his ghostly father: How Howleglas made his testament: How Howleglas was buried.

21. *Gargantua.*

The History of Gargantua, a romance translated from Rabelais, and alluded to by Shakespeare. A book entitled "The History of Garagantua," was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company in 1594, but there was no doubt a much earlier edition. The author of Harry White's Humour, 1640, "is of this opinion, that if the histories of Garagantua and Tom Thumbe be true, by consequence, Bevis of Hampton and Scoggin's Jests must needes be authenticall."

22. *Robin Hood.*

Perhaps the "mery geste of Robyn Hode and his meyné, and of the proude sherife of Notyngham," 4to., printed by Wynkyn de Worde. John Alde had a license, in 1563, "for pryntinge of a ballett of Robyn Hod."

23. *Adam Bell, Clim of the Clough, and William of Cloudesley.*

Three notorious outlaws of the North countree. The bal-

lad history here referred to has been printed for chapmen up to a very recent period. It is printed in *Percy's Reliques*, p. 40, ed. 1840. An edition printed by Copland is in the British Museum, and it was licensed to John Kynge as early as 1558. See *Collier's Extracts*, p. 15.

24. *The Churl and the Bird.*

A poem by Lydgate, the original of which was probably an old French fabliau, printed by Barbazan, under the title of "*Le Lais de l'oiselet*." It was printed by Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde, Copland, Ashmole, and recently in Lydgate's *Minor Poems*, p. 179.

25. *The Seven Wise Masters.*

An oriental romance, very popular in the middle ages, and translated into several European languages. Weber and Wright have printed early English metrical versions of this romance. Marshe had a license for this book in 1559; Copland published an edition, but without date; and Purfoote had a license for it in 1566. See *Collier's Extracts*, pp. 16, 143.

26. *The Wife Lapt in a Morel's Skin.*

A curious poem, "imprinted at London, in Fleetestreete, beneath the Conduite, at the signe of Saint John Evangelist." It is entitled, "*Here begynneth a merry Jeste of a shrewde and curste wyfe, lapped in Morrelles Skin for her good behavyour.*"

27. *The Sack Full of News.*

Heber had a small jest book, printed in 1673, under this title, whether a re-impression of the one here mentioned or not I am unable to say: *Bibl. Heber*, part iv., p. 275. It was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company by John Kynge, in 1557. See further observations in *Collier's Extracts*, p. 3.

28. *The Sergeant that became a Friar.*

A poetical tale, by Sir Thomas More, an unique edition of which, in 4to., is in the Bodleian Library. It is also printed in the folio edition of his works, Lond., 1577.

29. *Skogan.*

The collection of silly stories, published under the title of "Scoggin's Jests," is supposed to have been written by the celebrated Andrew Borde. It was licensed to Colwell in 1566, but the oldest known edition bears the date of 1626.

30. *Colin Clout.*

A poetical satire, by Skelton, on the corruptions of the Church. It was printed in his Workes, ed. 1568.

31. *The Friar and the Boy.*

A most popular story. An early copy in MS. is preserved at Cambridge, printed by Mr. Wright, 12mo., 1836. Several editions appeared in the 16th century, and chap-books of it have continued to be printed till very recently.

32. *Elynor Rumming.*

A poetical description of an ale-wife, by Skelton. It was printed in his Workes, ed. 1568.

33. *The Nutbrown Maid.*

A well-known old ballad of great merit. It has been repainted by Capell, Percy, and Wright. "John Kynge ys fyned, for that he did prynt the Nutbrowne Mayde without lycense."—*Stationers' Registers*, 1559, Collier, p. 16.

34. *The Shepherd's Kalendar.*

"The Boke of Shepherdes Kalender," printed by Wynkyn de Worde, is in Douce's collection. It is a compilation of

popular philosophy, and was often reprinted. The contents of this calendar are very miscellaneous, including astronomy, ethics, politics, divinity, physiognomy, medicine, astrology, and geography.

35. *The Ship of Fools.*

A general satire on the times, partly original and partly translated, by Alexander Barclay, 1509; another edition, 1570. This poem is too well known to require further notice.

36. *Daniel's Dreams.*

An early treatise on the interpretation of dreams, professedly taken from the prophet Daniel. "The Dreames of Daniell, with the exposycions of the xij. sygnes, devyded by the xij. monthes of the yeare, and also the destenys both of man and woman borne in eche monthe of the yere," 16mo., printed by R. Wyer. See Lowndes, p. 538.

37. *The Book of Fortune.*

A poem by Sir Thomas More. See Warton, vol. iii., p. 95. An edition of this work, printed by Robert Wyer, is at Lambeth Palace, and is, as far as I know, unique. It was also licensed to William Powell in 1560.

38. *Stans Puer ad Mensam.*

A poem on manners at table, by John Lydgate. It was printed by Pynson, and republished in 1588. A copy of it, from an early manuscript, will be found in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, vol. i., p. 156, of which the following specimen may suffice:

"Grennyng and mowes at table eschewe;
Crye not to loude; kepe honestly in silence;
T'enboce thi jowes with brede it is not due;
With full mouth speke not, lest thu do offence;
Drinke not bridlid for hast nor negligence;

Kepe clene thi lippes fro fatt of flesshe or fysshe ;
 Wype fayre thi spoon, leve it not in thi dische.

“ Off brede y-bite no soppis that thu make ;
 Loude for to suppe it is ageyn gentilnes ;
 With mouth embrewed thi cuppe thou not take ;
 In ale ne wyne with honde leve no fatnes ;
 Foul not thi naprie for no reklesnes ;
 Nevyr at met be warre gynne no stryve ;
 Thy teth also ne pike not with thi knyff.”

39. *The High Way to the Spittle House.*

A very curious poem, by R. Copland, and printed by him, describing the impositions of mendicants, their eating soap, their assumed fits, &c. A copy of this tract is in the Bodleian Library, and has been reprinted by Mr. Utterson.

40. *Julian of Brainford's Testament.*

I have had the misfortune of reading this very rare black-letter tract, and can only say that not even a line of it is fitted for “ears polite,” save the poem which is quoted in the notes to the First Sketch of the Merry Wives of Windsor, p. 68. Only two copies of it are known to exist. Heber's fetched £9 10s. 0d., part 4, p. 74.

41. *The Castle of Love.*

This is a translation from the Spanish, for which see further in Collier's Extracts, p. 100. A poem by Grosteste, under this title, exists in MS., and is described by Warton, vol. i., p. 73, but I am not aware of its having been printed at this early period.

42. *The Budget of Demands.*

This is probably “Delectable demandes and pleasaunt questions,” 4to., 1566, Dibdin, No. 2551 ; or it may perhaps

be the "Demaundes Joyous," printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1511. See, however, Collier, *ibid.*, p. 94.

43. *Hundred Merry Tales.*

An old collection of foolish anecdotes, printed by Rastell, and again by Walley in 1558. It is alluded to in Shakespeare's "Much Ado about Nothing."

44. *Book of Riddles.*

A popular book, mentioned also in "The English Courtier," 4to., 1586. Master Slender had a copy, which he lent to Alice Shortcake. See the "Merry Wives of Windsor," act i., sc. 1. An edition of this book, printed in 1629, is in the library of the Earl of Ellesmere.

45. *The Seven Sorrows of Women.*

I am not acquainted with any tract bearing this title.

46. *The Proud Wives Paternoster.*

A curious satirical poem, printed by John Kynge, in 1560. A copy of it is in the Bodleian Library, reprinted by Mr. Utterson.

47. *The Chapman of a Pennyworth of Wit.*

According to a letter in the "Gentleman's Magazine," this tract has been reprinted by Mr. Utterson. A book, entitled "a penyworth of wytt," was licensed to John Sampson in 1561. The tract here referred to was no doubt the poem printed by Ritson, "How a merchande dyd hys wyfe betray."

48. *Youth and Charity.*

A book under this title was entered on the registers of the Stationers' Company in 1557. There is little doubt but that Laneham refers to the "Interlude of Youth," printed by Waley and Copland, in which *Charity* is one of the *dramatis personæ*.

49. *Hick Scorne*.

A curious play, printed without date by Wynkyn de Worde. It is of a comical nature, and satirizes some of the vices and follies of the age. Reprinted by Hawkins, 1773, vol. i. It is thus alluded to, in Udall's *Apothegms of Erasmus*, 1564:—

“Sophistrie dooeth no helpe, use, ne service to doings in Publique affaires or bearing offices in a common weale, whiche publique offices who so is a suiter to have, it behoveth the same not to plaie *Hicke Skorne* with insolubles and with idle knackes of sophisticacions, but rather to frame and facion himself to the maners and condicions of menne, and to bee of soche sort as other men be.”

50. *The new Guise*.

Laneham perhaps refers to the interlude of “*Newe Custom*,” 4to., 1573, a piece written for the purpose of vindicating and promoting the Reformation.

51. *Impatient Poverty*.

A poetical interlude, an edition of which, dated 1560, is mentioned in the *Biographia Dramatica*, p. 328. This drama is alluded to in the play of Sir Thomas More, p. 55, where Mr. Dyce, in a note, incorrectly asserts that it is not extant. According to the title-page, “four men may well and easelye playe this interlude.”

52. *Breviary of Health*.

A well-known work by Andrew Borde, first printed in 1547. According to Wood, he was “esteemed a noted poet, a witty and ingenious person, and an excellent physician.” Hearne ascribes the origin of Merry Andrew to this humourist, to whom the “*Merry Tales of the Wise Men of Gotham*” are commonly attributed.

53. *Broom on the Hill, &c.*

Some of the ballads here mentioned still exist. Ritson has printed two of them, and another, "By a bank as I lay," is given in Collier's Extracts, p. 193.

54. *Jasper Laet.*

"An almanacke and prognostication, composed by John Laet of Antwerp," 12mo., 1559.

55. *Nostradam.*

One of the treatises of this astrologer was published at London in 1559, entitled, "An excellent tretise, shewing suche perillous and contagious infirmities as shall insue 1559 and 1560," 12mo. Dibdin (No. 2733) mentions an "Almanacke for the yeare 1559, composed by Mayster Mych. Nostrodamus," 8vo.

56. *John Securis.*

In the Bodleian Library is preserved "A newe Almanacke for the yere of our Lord God, 1567, practised in Salisbury by Maister John Securis, Phisitian."

Some letters on the subject of these tracts have recently appeared in the "Gentleman's Magazine," among which may be mentioned a very interesting one by Mr. W. Reader, part of the materials having been furnished from my notes. The above, however, will be found to be a more complete description of the pieces which compose this celebrated collection. It may, perhaps, be questioned whether Laneham really saw all these tracts in the possession of Captain Cox. It may be that the Captain was known to be curious in such matters, and that Laneham merely strung together the titles of tracts of a similar character, as they occurred to his memory, and in fact made the catalogue. It is unnecessary to add that, on either supposition, Laneham's list is equally curious.

J. O. HALLIWELL.

ART. IV.—*Richard Field, (the printer of Shakespeare's "Venus and Adonis" and "Lucrece") Nathaniel Field, Anthony Munday, and Henry Chettle.*

Most of the Members of our Society will recollect that Richard Field was the printer of the first, second, and third editions of Shakespeare's "Venus and Adonis:" the two first have, "Imprinted by Richard Field," at full length on the title-pages, while to the last only his initials are appended. He was also the printer of the first edition of "Lucrece," which was "Printed by Richard Field for John Harison." How did it happen that our great dramatist employed Field for the purpose? This is a question to which I am about to give a distinct answer.

The fact is, that Field was a fellow-townsmen of Shakespeare: he came from Stratford-upon-Avon, and was son to the very "Henry Field, late of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the county of Warwick, tanner," whose "goods and chattels" John Shakespeare, the father of our great dramatist, was employed, with two others, to value in August, 1592 (see Collier's *Life of Shakespeare*, i., cxlii). This is a curious, though I cannot call it an important, circumstance in the history of Shakespeare and his works; and it may either show his desire to give employment to a young man who came from the same town, or that the young man, knowing that Shakespeare had such productions by him ready for the press, had solicited an opportunity of employing his skill upon them.

In my "Life of Shakespeare" I have expressed a decided opinion that both "Venus and Adonis" and "Lucrece" were written "before their author left his home in Warwickshire;" and I added a conjecture, that Richard Field might be the son of Henry Field, the tanner (p. cxliv). This conjecture turns out to be well founded.

The fact is established beyond dispute by the Registers of

the Stationers' Company, which, as the members of our Society know, I have recently been examining for a different purpose. One portion of these Registers consists of a list of the apprentices bound to different printers and booksellers, and among them, under date of 10th August, 1579, I read the following:

“Rychard Feylde, sonne of Henry Feilde, of Stratford upon Avon, in the countye of Warwick, Tanner, hath put him selfe apprentis to george bishop, citizen and stacioner of london, for vij yeres from Michaelmas next.”

The fee paid for the registration was in all cases 2s. 6d.; and immediately after the above entry is the subsequent note, which is important in the biography of Richard Field, because he married one of the daughters, not of George Bishop, but of the person from whom he first learned the art and mystery of printing.

“It is agreed that this Apprentis shall serve the first vij yeres of his apprenticeship with the said Vautrollier, [whose name is inserted in the margin of the book] to learne the art of printinge, and the vijth. yere with the said g. bishop.”

The time of Richard Field's servitude would therefore expire in 1586; and on 7th February, 1591, we find him taking an apprentice himself, that apprentice being his own younger brother: the memorandum runs thus:—

“Jasper Feild, son of Henry Field, of Stratford upon Avon, in the county of Warwick, Tanner, hath put him selfe an Apprentice to Ric. Feild, citizen and stacioner of London, for seven yeres from the date hereof.”

When, therefore, Richard Field printed and published “Venus and Adonis” in 1593, and printed “Lucrece” in

1594, he had been for some years established in business. He had married Vautrollier's daughter in 1588. — (Lives of the Actors in Shakespeare, p. 223.)

The inclination of my opinion is, that Shakespeare went to Richard Field and employed him in printing his earliest production, both as regards the writing and printing of it, because he was a fellow-townsmen, and wished to render him a service. There can be no doubt that Field executed the task entrusted to him well, for whether our great dramatist did or did not correct the press, (I think that in this instance he did) "Venus and Adonis" is not only the most accurately but the most handsomely printed of any of Shakespeare's works. "Lucrece" comes near it in excellence of typography, and the types employed are the same; but the literal errors, though still few, are rather more numerous.

The Registers of the Stationers' Company contain an interesting record respecting another Field, much more celebrated, one of the original actors in the dramas of our great dramatist, whose name fills a prominent place in the list of principal performers prefixed to the folio of 1623. It was, therefore, my business to supply such particulars as I could furnish regarding him in the volume of the "Lives of the Actors;" but I was not then aware that Nathaniel Field, the player, had begun life as a printer and stationer. Such was the case, as appears decisively from the following quotation, which bears date 7 February, 1597.

"Nathaniel Feild, son of John Feild, late of London, Clerk, deceased, hath put him selfe apprentice to Raffe Jackson, Citizen and Stationer of London, for eight yeres from Michaelmas last past."

The word "clerk" of course refers to the clerical profession of N. Field's father, who is said to have been "deceased," and who was buried, as we know, (Lives of the Actors, p. 207)

on the 26th March, 1587-8. Apprentices were then taken younger than at present, and Nathaniel Field was only in his eleventh year when he bound himself to Ralph Jackson. It is quite certain that he did not anything like serve out his time, for he was a boy-actor, and one of the "Children of the Queen's Chapel," when he was only thirteen years old.

While upon the subject of the entry of apprentices in the Stationers' Registers, I may not unfitly introduce two other interesting memoranda of the same kind, relating, one of them to an actor and dramatist of much notoriety, and the other to a dramatist of ability and celebrity. The names of both will be familiar to all who have been at all accustomed to refer to "Henslowe's Diary," as printed by our Society—Anthony Munday and Henry Chettle. Both began life as apprentices to printers, and I am in a condition to give the very dates at which, and the periods for which, they were bound. It was previously known that Munday had served Edward Alde in some capacity, and that Chettle, writing to that able pamphleteer, Thomas Nash, had expressly called himself "your old compositor." Munday became apprentice to Alde (or Aldee, as the name is usually spelt in the Registers) in 1576, the ensuing memorandum being dated 1st October in that year.

"Anthonie Mondaie, sonne of Christopher mondaye, late of London, draper, deceased, hath put himself apprentice to John Aldee, stationer, for Eighte yeres, begynnyng at Bartholometyde laste past."

Here we see the name of Anthony Munday's father, and the entry explains why, though thus apprenticed to a stationer, he had afterwards called himself "draper:" his father had been a member of the Drapers' Company, and Anthony Munday must have thus inherited his freedom.

The entry regarding Chettle (who, by the way, not

unfrequently wrote in conjunction with Munday, his fellow-apprentice) is this, and bears date 8th October, 1577.

“Henrie Chettell, sonne of Robart Chettell, late of London, Dier, deceased, hathe put himself apprentice to Thomas Easte, Cytezen and stacioner of london, for viij. yeres, begynninge at michelmas laste paste.”

These are curious though minute particulars respecting distinguished dramatists, the contemporaries of Shakespeare; but, I apprehend, they are worth preserving, and, at all events, they are quite new. Ames, Herbert, Malone, Steevens, Chalmers, and various others, have gone through these Registers, and have not scrupled to leave their indelible marks on many pages of them, without being at all aware that they contained any such information as is here furnished.

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

Kensington, September, 1848.

ART. V. *Three New Privy Seals, for Players in the time of Shakespeare.*

On looking over the Patent Rolls of the early part of the reign of James I., I was recently fortunate enough to discover several Privy Seals that have hitherto escaped notice: at least, I find no mention of them in Mr. Payne Collier's "History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," which, I apprehend, includes all the documents of this kind that were known to exist, at the period when he published his work (1831). It will be acknowledged at once that they form very important illustrations of the state of our drama and its appliances, at the time when Shakespeare was in the full exercise of his powers; and for this reason I forward copies of them to be inserted in the next volume of "The Shakespeare Society's Papers."

The earliest of these documents belongs to the year 1607, and is headed—

"De concessione Licenciæ pro Thoma Downton et aliis;"

and it is contained in the Roll of 4 James I. Hence, as his name is mentioned in the title, and comes first in the list of the players, we may conclude that Thomas Downton was considered at the head of the company, which so far does not accord with the enumeration furnished by Mr. Collier (i., 351) from the Household Book of Prince Henry, where Thomas Towne appears to have been the leader of the association acting under the name of the Prince. In the Privy Seal, the "servants of our dearest son, the Prince," are thus specified, forming a shorter enumeration than that given by the historian of our stage, viz:—

Thomas Downton,
Thomas Towne,
William Byrde,

Edward Jubye,
Samuel Rowle[y],
Humphrey Jeffes,
Charles Massey,
Anthony Jeffes.

To these Mr. Collier adds the names of Edward Colbrande, William Parre, William Stratford, Francis Grace, and John Shanke, omitting Massey and Anthony Jeffes, although "the two Jeffes" had been mentioned by Henslowe as members of the company of the Earl of Nottingham's players, (afterwards those of Prince Henry) in 1597. We may conclude that at least some of the additional names were those of men who did not form part of the regular company, but came under the denomination of "hirelings," being paid fixed weekly wages, or salaries, and not allowed to participate farther in the receipts at the doors, which were divided among those called "the sharers," and rendered their payments and profits uncertain.

Without more preface, I will insert the document itself, which is in the usual form, excepting the special clause at the end, saving the rights of Edmond Tylney, the Master of the Revels, and of Sir George Buck, who had the reversion of that office.

PATENT FOR THE PRINCE'S PLAYERS, 4 JAC. I.

"James, by the Grace of God, &c., To all justices, maiors, bailiffes, constables, headboroughes, and others our officers and loving subjects, greeting. Knowe ye, that Wee, of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, have licenced and auctorized, and by theise presents do licence and auctorize, Thomas Downton, Thomas Towne, William Byrde, Edwarde Jubye, Samuell Rowle, Humfrey Jeffs, Charles Massey, and Anthonie Jeffs, servantes to our dearest sonne the Prince, and the rest of their associates, to use and exer-

cise the arte and facultie of playing comedies, tragedies, histories, enterludes, moralles, pastoralles, stage playes, and such other like, as they have alreadie studied, or hereafter shall use or study, as well for the recreation of our loving subjectes as for our solace and pleasure, when wee shall thincke good to see them during our pleasure. And the saide comedies, tragedies, histories, enterludes, moralles, pastoralles, stage-plaies, and such like, to shew and exercise publicquely to their best coñoditie, as well within their nowe usuall house called the Fortune, within our countie of Midd., as also within the libertie and fredome of any other citie, university, towne, or boroughe whatsoever, within our realmes and domynions. Willing and commanding you, and everie of you, as you tender our pleasure, not onelie to permitt and suffer them herein, without anie your lette, hindraunces, or molestacions, during our saide pleasure, but also to be aiding and assisting unto them, yf anie wrong be to them offered. And to allowe them such former curtesies as hath been given to men of their place and qualitie. And also what further favour you shall shewe unto them for our sake, Wee shall take kindelie at your handes. Provided alwaies, and our wyll and pleasure ys, that all auctoritie, power, priviledges, and profittes whatsoever, belonging and properlie appertaining to the Maister of our Revells, in respect of his office, and everie clause, article, or graunt contained within the letters patent, or commission, which have heretofore byn graunted or directed by the late Queene Elizabeth, our deere sister, or by ourselves, to our welbeloved servantes, Edmonde Tilney, Maister of the Office of our saide Revells, or to Sir George Bucke, Knight, or to either of them, in possession or reversion, shall be, remayne, and abide entire and in full force, estate, and vertue, and in as ample sorte as yf this our commission had never been made. In Witnes whereof, &c., Witnes ourselfe at Westm̃, the thirtieth day of Aprill.

“ Per breve de Privato Sigillo.”

The date is material, since it shows that Prince Henry's Players, acting at the Fortune Theatre, in Golding Lane, Cripplegate, were not authorized by Privy Seal until 30th April, 1607, whereas the list supplied by Mr. Collier is applicable to the year 1603; and he informs us that Lord Nottingham's players "were taken into the service of Prince Henry immediately after his father came to the crown." Such is very likely to have been the fact; but they did not obtain a Privy Seal until four years afterwards.

I now come to another document of precisely the same character, but of a little later date, containing the names of the members of a company, the existence of which was known, but the individual performers of which were not known. In vol. i., p. 349, Mr. Collier quotes the authority of Thomas Heywood, to show that he, as one of the players of the Earl of Worcester, was transferred to the service of Queen Anne, when James I. ascended the throne. I am able to supply the names of the whole of the association acting under the sanction of the name of the Queen, and they were these—Thomas Greene, the townsman of Shakespeare, and the very distinguished actor, being at the head of the list, as follows:

Thomas Greene,
Christopher Beeston,
Thomas Heywood,
Richard Perkyns,
Richard Pallant,
Thomas Swinnerton,
John Duke,
Robert Lee,
James Haulte,
Robert Beeston.

We are to presume that these were the sharers; and any "hired men" are not given in the document, which, like the former, is a Privy Seal granted by James I., not at the very

commencement of his reign, as Mr. Collier supposes, but in 1609. This is material, even if we conclude, as the fact may undoubtedly be, that Thomas Greene and his associates had then been acting for five or six years as the Players of the Queen, although they had no public authority for so doing. Mr. Collier states that they "performed in the first instance at the Red Bull, in St. John Street;" and such was the case when the Privy Seal was issued, for it so states; but they were also in possession of the Curtain Theatre, in Shoreditch, as appears on the same unquestionable authority, which ought to have been pulled down in 1602, on the opening of the Fortune, but which continued in use at least twenty years afterwards (*Hist. E. D. P.*, iii., 272). With regard to the names of the Players contained in the Privy Seal, it is to be remarked that there is a mistake in calling Pallant by the Christian name of Richard, for by all other authorities it appears to have been Robert. The same clause is inserted at the end, reserving the rights of Tylney and Buck.

PATENT FOR QUEEN ANNE'S PLAYERS, 7 JAC. I.

"James, by the Grace of God, &c., To all justices, mayors, sheriffes, baylieffes, constables, headborrowes, and other our officers and lovinge subjects, greetinge. Knowe yee, that Wee, of our especiall grace, certayne knowledge, and meere motion, have lycenced and authorized, and by these presentes doe lycence and authorize, Thomas Greene, Christofer Beeston, Thomas Haywood, Richard Pirkyns, Richard Pallant, Thomas Swinnerton, John Duke, Robt Lee, James Haulte, and Robte Beeston, Servants to our most deerely beloved wiefe, Queene Anne, and the reste of their associates, to use and exercise the arte and faculty of playinge comedies, tragedies, historyes, enterludes, moralles, pastoralles, stage-playes, and suche other like, as they have already studied, or heareafter shall use or studye, as well for the recreation of our lovinge subjectes, as for our solace and pleasure. And the

saide comedies, tragedies, histories, enterludes, moralles, pastoralles, stageplayes, and such like, to shewe and exercise publicly and openly to their beste commoditye, as well within their nowe usual houses called the Redd Bull, in Clarkenwell, and the Curtayne, in Hallowell, as alsoe within anye Towne Halles, Mouthalles, and other conveniente places within the libertye and freedome of any other citty, universitye, towne, or boroughe whatsoever, within our realmes and domynions. Willinge and commaundinge you and every of you, as you tender our pleasure, not only to permitt and suffer them herein, without anye your lett, hinderance, or molestations, duringe our said pleasure, but also to be aydinge [and] assistinge unto them, yf anye wronge be to them offered, and to allowe them suche former curtesies as hath byn given to men of their place and qualitye: and alsoe what favoure you shall shewe to them for our sake, Wee shall take kyndly at your handes. Provided alwaies, and our will and pleasure is, that all auctoritye, power, priveledge, and profitt whatsoever belonginge and properly apertayninge to [our] Master of Revelles, in respecte of his office, and everye cause, article, or graunte contayned within the Letters Patent or Commission which have byn heretofore graunted or directed by the late Queene Elizabeth, our deere sister, or by our selves to our welbeloved servant, Edmond Tylney, Master of the Office of our said Revelles, or to Sir George Bucke, Knighte, or to eyther of them, in possession or reversion, shal be, remayne, and abyde entyer and full in effecte, force, estate, and vertue, [in] as ample sorte as if this our commission had never byn made. In Witnes whereof, &c., Witnes our selfe at Westmⁿ, the fifteenth daye of Aprill.

“ *Per breve de Privato Sigillo,*” &c.

Thus we see that Mr. Collier was probably misinformed when he said (i., 350) that the Players of Prince Henry occupied the Curtain Theatre, in the opening of the reign of

James I. If they did then occupy it, it is very clear that they had ceased to do so in 1609, when the Privy Seal was granted to Greene and his associates, enabling them, as "Queen Anne's Players," to perform there and at the Red Bull, in Clerkenwell, *i.e.*, at the upper end of St. John Street.

I have now a third, and a hitherto unseen document, to bring forward, in the shape of a similar grant to a company calling itself "servants to the Duke of York and Rothsay," afterwards Prince of Wales and Charles I. No notice is taken of this association, which consisted of the following performers:—

John Garland,
William Rowley,
Thomas Hobbes,
Robert Dawes,
Joseph Taylor,
John Newton,
Gilbert Reason.

The number is unusually small, and of Gilbert Reason we hear no where else. If the above were all the sharers, they must have been aided by an unusual number of hired men, whose emoluments did not depend upon the uncertain sum taken at the doors. The general terms of this Privy Seal are very much the same as others with the same object, and it is entitled, *De Licencia agendi Tragedias, &c., pro Johanne Garland et aliis.*

PATENT FOR THE DUKE OF YORK'S PLAYERS, 8 JAC. I.

"James, by the Grace of God, &c., To all justices, mayors, sheriffes, baylies, constables, hedboroughes, and other our loving subjectes and officers greetinge. Know ye, that Wee, of our especyall grace certen knowledge and meere motion, have lycensed and authorized, and by theis presentes doe lycense and authorize, John Garland, Willyam Rowley, Thomas Hobbes, Robert Dawes, Joseph Taylor, John New-

ton, and Gilbert Reason, alreadye sworne servantes to our deere sonne, the Duke of York and Rothesay, with the rest of their company, to use and exercise the arte and quality of playing comedies, tragedies, histories, enterludes, moralles, pastoralles, stageplayes, and such other like, as they have alreadye studded or hereafter shall study or use, as well for the recreation of our lovinge subjectes, as for our solace and pleasure, when wee shall thincke good to see them. And the said enterludes or other to shewe and exercise publicuely, to their best advantage and comoditie, as well in and about our Cittye of London, in such usual houses as themselves shall provide, as also within any Towne Halles, Moutehalles, Guildhalles Schoole houses, or other convenient places, within the lybertye and freedome of any other cittye, university, towne, or boroughe whatsoever, within our realmes and domynions. Proviso in favor of Edmond Tillney, or Sir Geo. Bucke, Knt, or to either of them, in possession or reversion. Witnes oureselfe at Westmⁿ, the thirtieth daye of March.

"Per breve de Privato Sigillo."

Tylney died in October, 1610, about seven months after the date of the preceding Privy Seal, and he was succeeded by Sir George Buck, who had previously only held the office of Master of the Revels in reversion (Collier, i., 374).

Perhaps the most remarkable circumstance about the preceding document is the appearance of the name of Joseph Taylor in it. In his "Memoirs of the Principal Actors," in Shakespeare's plays, as those actors are enumerated in the folio of 1623, Mr. Collier has shown that Taylor was of an unsettled turn of mind, and that though he was the owner of a share and a half in the receipts of the Blackfriars Theatre in 1608, he was one of the Players of Prince Henry in 1611, and had then probably disposed of his interest in the proceeds of one of the playhouses in the occupation of the King's company. From the Privy Seal to the servants of the Duke

of York, it is evident that, if Taylor sold his share and a half in the Blackfriars, in consequence of his joining another association, he had most likely done so before 30th March, 1610, because he was at that date one of the Players of the Duke of York, who of course did not become Prince of Wales until the death of his brother Henry. This makes the conjecture of Mr. Collier still more probable, that Taylor sold his interest in the Blackfriars Theatre very soon after 1608, under the apprehension that the City authorities would at last succeed in their attempt to put an end to acting within a precinct to which, it was insisted by the Players, their authority did not extend.

T. EDLYNE TOMLINS.

November 10, 1847.

ART. VI.—*Two additional Notes on the play of Henry the Sixth, Part II.*

It having occurred to me that a passage in "The Contention" seems to throw some light on the date of that play, and to make it probable that a portion of it was not written before the year 1589, I now offer a few remarks on the subject. The passage is as follows:—

"Thou hast most traitorously erected a grammar schoole, to infect the youth of the realme, and against the King's crowne and dignitie thou hast built up a paper-mill."

Without speaking of the paper-mill as an anachronism, the allusion to it almost bears the appearance of being an indirect compliment to Queen Elizabeth, as an encourager of learning, and more especially as having bestowed her royal patronage on Spilman's paper-mill, of which there is an account (as reprinted in Nichols's *Royal Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*) written by Thomas Churchyard, dated "London, at my lodgings, 8th March," printed in 1588 (most probably as old style, 1588-9). This production is called "A Sparke of Friendship and warme good will, that shewes the effect of true affection, and unfolds the fineness of this World; Whereunto is joined the commoditie of sundry sciences, the Benefit that Paper bringeth, with many rare matters rehearsed in the same, with a description and commendation of a Paper-Mill now and of late set up neere the towne of Darthford by an High Germaine called M. Spilman, Jeweller to the Qu. most excellent Majestie."

This "Sparke of Friendship" commences with a dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh; and the author, after a commendation of Friendship, &c., presents "a few verses that were devised for the setting forth of a Paper-Mill, which a great well-willer of yours (as good cause he hath so to be)

hath builded at Dearthford, and brought to perfect frame and forme, I trust to the great contentment of the Queene's Majestie, and benefit of her whole countrie."

The following lines occur in the poem—

"None before his dayes
Made Paper-Mill that merits so much praise
As this, that now is not full farre from hence.

* * * * *

This had not been if Prince had not retained
This stranger here by whom these gifts are gayned.
Her Highness then saw, in her deep foresight,
What famous worke this man would bring to light.

"Now gallant wits, that joy in doing well,
Ply pen apace, whiles learning may be had:
Now striplings yong, but late come out of shell,
To school, good boys, to make your parents glad;
Now Printer's presse, that sets forthe many a book,
Bestir the stumps, that worlde for newes may look:
Now Stationers, that worketh all the yeare,
Sell bookes good chepe, for paper is not deare."

The above passage, in its allusion to the Royal patronage, makes the one quoted from "The Contention" appear almost in the light of a parody upon it; and when we also remember the grammar school "infecting the youth of the realm," to say nothing of the mention of printing which occurs in "the amended Play," scarcely a doubt is left on the mind that Churchyard's verses were not written first; and as the poem was probably well known, and the erection of a paper-mill a novel and popular undertaking, and the theme of much conversation, the allusion would be such as to be well understood and relished by the audience.

In a former paper, on "The Character of Jack Cade," I alluded to a resemblance existing between the York pedigree, in Henry VI., Part II., and that of the Earl of Cambridge, in the play of Sir John Oldcastle: having lately been led to pursue the subject further, I offer the results, as they appear to afford some clue to the date of the completion of the play of Henry VI., Part II.

To do this, it seemed desirable, in the first instance, to quote at length three passages: the first from "The Contention" of 1594, as edited by Mr. Halliwell; the second, the passage as it stands in Henry VI.; and the third, copied from the edition of Sir John Oldcastle printed in 1600.

York. Then thus, my Lords:

Edward the third had seuen sonnes;
 The first was Edward the blacke Prince, Prince of Wales;
 The second was Edmund of Langly, Duke of Yorke;
 The third was Lyonell, Duke of Clarence;
 The fourth was John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster;
 The fifth was Roger Mortemor, Earl of March;
 The sixt was Sir Thomas of Woodstocke;
 William of Winsore was the seuenth and last.

Now, Edward the blacke Prince he died before his father, and left behind him Richard, that afterwards was King, crownde by the name of Richard the Second, and he died without an heire.

Edmund of Langly, Duke of Yorke, died, and left behinde him two daughters, Anne and Elinor; Lyonell, Duke of Clarence, died, and left behinde Alice, Anne, and Elinor, that was after married to my father, and by her I claim the crowne, as the true heire to Lyonell Duke of Clarence, the third sonne to Edward the third. Now, sir, in the time of Richard's raigne, Henry of Bullingbrooke, sonne and heire to John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster, fourth sonne to Edward the third, he claimde the Crowne, deposde the merth-

full King, and, as both yea know, in Pomphret Castle harmlesse Richard was shamefully murthered; and so by Richard's death came the house of Lancaster vnto the Crowne.

* * * * *

Warwick. He claimes it from Lyonel Duke of Clarence, the third sonne to Edward the third, and Henry from John of Gaunt, the fourth sonne. So that, till Lyonel's issue failes, his should not raigne.

HENRY VI., PART II., ACT II., SCENE 2.

York. Then thus:

Edward the third, my lords, had seven sons;
 The first, Edward the Black Prince, Prince of Wales;
 The second, William of Hatfield; and the third,
 Lionel Duke of Clarence; next to whom
 Was John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster;
 The fifth was Edmund Langley, Duke of York;
 The sixth was Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloster;
 William of Windsor was the seventh and last.
 Edward the Black Prince dyed before his father,
 And left behind him Richard, his only son,
 Who, after Edward the Third's death, reigned King.
 Till Henry Bolinbroke, Duke of Lancaster,
 The eldest son and heir of John of Gaunt,
 Crown'd by the name of Henry the Fourth,
 Seized on the realm, depos'd the rightful King,
 Sent his poor queen to France, from whence she came,
 And him to Pomfret; when, as both you know,
 Harmless Richard was murder'd traiterously.

War. Father, the duke hath told the truth;
 Thus got the house of Lancaster the crown.

York. Which now they hold by force, and not by right;
 For Richard, the first son's heir, being dead,
 The issue of the next son should have reigned.

Sal. But William of Hatfield dyed without an heir.

York. The third son, duke of Clarence, (from whose line

I claim the crown) had issue—Philippe, a daughter,
 Who married Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March;
 Edmund had issue—Roger, Earl of March;
 Roger had issue—Edmund, Anne, and Eleanor.

Sal. This Edmund—

But to the rest—

York. His eldest sister, Anne,
 My mother, being heir unto the crown,
 Married Richard, earl of Cambridge, who was son
 To Edmund Langley, Edward the Third's fifth son,
 By her I claim the kingdom; she then was heir
 To Roger, Earl of March, who was the son
 Of Edmund Mortimer, who married Philippe,
 Sole daughter unto Lionel, Duke of Clarence.
 So if the issue of the elder son
 Succeed before the younger, I am King.

War. What plain proceeding is more plain than this?
 Henry doth claim the crown from John of Gaunt,
 The fourth son; York claims it from the third.

SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE. 1600.

Scroop. Once more, my lord of Cambridge, make rehearsall
 How you do stand intitled to the Crowne,
 The deeper shall we print it in our minds,
 And every man the better be resolv'd
 When he perceives his quarrell to be just.

Cambridge. Then thus:

This Lionell Duke of Clarence, as I said,
 Third sonne of Edward (England's King) the third,
 Had issue, Philip, his sole daughter and heire,
 Which Philip afterwards was given in marriage
 To Edmund Mortimer, the Earle of March,
 And by him had a son cald Roger Mortimer,
 Which Roger likewise had of his descent
 Edmund, Roger, Anne, and Elianor,
 Two daughters and two sonnes; but [of] those, three

Dide without issue : Anne, that did survive,
 And now was left her father's onely heire,
 My¹ fortune was to marry, being too,
 By my grandfather, of King Edward's line,
 So of his sir-name I am cald, you know,
 Richard Plantagenet; my father was
 Edward the Duke of Yorke, and sonne and heire
 To Edmund Langley, Edward the third's fifth² son.

Scroop. So that it seems your claim comes by your wife,
 As lawful heire to Roger Mortimer,
 The son of Edmund, which did marry Philip,
 Daughter and heire to Lyonell Duke of Clarence.

Cam. True; for this Harry and his father both,
 Harry the fourth,³ as plainly doth appeare,
 Are false intruders, and usurpe the Crowne;
 For when yonge Richard was at Pomfret slaine,
 In him the title of Prince Edward dyed,
 That was the eldest of King Edward's sonnes:
 William of Hatfield and their second brother
 Death in his nonage had before bereft;
 So that my wife derived from Lionall,
 Third sonne unto King Edward, ought "precede"⁴
 And take possession of the Diadem
 Before this Harry or his father, King[s]
 Who fetch their title but from Lancaster,
 Fourth of that royall line.....

If the reader has had patience to wade through the above passages, he cannot fail to discover that the principal resemblance lies in that of Sir John Oldcastle to the amended play: in the latter of these we find the glaring blunders in the Contention are corrected and carried down from Lionel Duke of Clarence, through his daughter Philippe and her children by her marriage with Edmund Mortimer, to Richard

¹ Misprinted "By."

² Misprinted "first."

³ Misprinted "first."

⁴ Misprinted "proceed."

Earl of Cambridge, whose descent from Edmund Langley is also introduced; all which is either omitted in the edition of 1594, or else so curiously mis-stated, as to render York's claim a very doubtful one. We have, therefore, no ground for supposing that the passage in Sir John Oldcastle can have been borrowed from the Contention. Again, in comparing that from Sir John Oldcastle with Henry VI., there is such an appearance of tedious prolixity about the former, that it gives us every reason to believe that it must have been written subsequently to that in Henry VI.; and it is scarcely possible that the one should have been composed independently of the other. Another resemblance also meets our eye, in the passage, "When he perceives his quarrel to be just;" so similar to the line, "Thrice is he arm'd that hath his quarrel just," (Henry VI., Part II., act iii., sc. 2) which does not occur in the Contention.

These, added to the repeated allusions to Falstaff and other characters in the plays of Henry IV. and Henry V, which we find in Sir John Oldcastle, as well as many other plagiarisms, show that the author (or rather authors) must have openly and unscrupulously borrowed from these sources. If this fact be granted, we are forced to conclude that the play of Henry VI., Part II., must have existed in its complete state, and have been well known in that form before the year 1600, as the entry in Henslowe's Diary, first brought forward by Malone, shows that the four authors concerned in writing that play received a present of half-a-crown a piece, in consideration of the success of that play on its first performance, which must have taken place between November 1st and 8th, 1599.

Comparing, therefore, this date with that of Churchyard's poem, and supposing the premises to be true, a difference of only ten years could exist between the composition of "The Contention" and the completion of the play of Henry VI., Part II.

December 29, 1847.

G. M. ZORNLIN.

ART. VII.—*Extract from a Manuscript at Oxford, containing a memorandum of the complaints against Dethick, the herald who made the grant of arms to John Shakespeare.*

No biographer of Shakespeare has hitherto had an opportunity of comparing Dethick's answer to the complaints made against him, with the allegations of misconduct with which he was charged; most writers supposing them not to be extant. I have, however, discovered a copy amongst the Ashmolean MSS., No. 857; and, although it contains no notice of the Shakespeares, yet it is of some interest and value in estimating the degree of credibility we may be disposed to assign to the rambling statements contained in the drafts of the grant of arms to John Shakespeare in 1596 and 1599. It will be observed that Dethick is here expressly charged with giving arms "to base and ignoble persons," and *falsifying pedigrees*, a singular instance of the latter charge being expressly quoted. Even if we give Dethick the favour of placing a partial reliance on all the charges exhibited by his enemies, his own replies would furnish very good grounds for believing that his practice in granting arms was, to say the least, occasionally distinguished by great irregularity.

J. O. H.

"A Remembrance of Sir William Dethickes, alias Garter King of Armes, his abuses, since the tyme he was Yorcke Heraulde to this present A^o.

"William Dethicke, when he was Yorcke Herauld, gave armes by Patents under his hand and seale, and writeing in the Inscription of his seales, *Gulielmus Dethicke Armig: Primarius Heraldus Eboracensis*, which tytle belonged to Norroy, King of Armes of the North.

"At that time also he embeazelled bookes forth of the Office of Armes, and forswore them solempnely on a booke,

as by the hande of his owne father, his brother, and iiij. or five others was testified.

“Hee strooke his father with his fiste, for the which his father cursed him, and he wounded his elder brother on the head with his dagger, within the Castle of Windsore.

“Upon his father’s decease, he sued for his father’s Office of Garter, and abuseing of one Nicaseus, then one of the Clerkes of the Signett, hee inserted into the bill to be signed, which was delivered unto him upon trust to bee faire written, these wordes of encrease, *Necnon visitandi et insignia armorum claris viris concedendi*, by which wordes hee would have carryed both the offices of Clarenceaulx and Norroye; but Somersett Glover, understandinge thereof, complayned unto the Queene, and her Majestie advertysed Sir Francis Walsingham. Sir Francis so sharply reprehended Nicasius for his oversight, as the poore olde man for very grieve dyed.

“After this, Clarenceaulx sent Richmonde herauld upon a visitacion, as his Marshall, into Lincolnshire; but Dethicke, then Garter, standing upon the wordes of his Patent, and pretending that hee ought not to visitte without him, countermanded him by lettres, discrediting him so much to the Lord Willoughby, and to the Judges, being then in their circuite, as the men returned very much endamaged by that journey.

“Complainte whereof being made unto the Lord Treasurer Burghley, his lordship with Sir Francis Walsingham joyning (by her Majesties appointment) in commission, called the said Dethick before them, and, after some sharpe rebukes and threats given him, he rendred his Lettres Patents on his knees, desireing that hee might enjoy them, as his father did; which they promised him they would obtaine of the Queene; but he, not trusting to their promise, privily got a duplicate from the Records, by which he served the Office vj. or vij. yeares untill the Lord Treasurer dyed, and then he gott the originall Patent againe.

“In which time, and longe after, he committed very many and grosse abuses, as namely, the giveing of armes, yea, and of some of the nobilitie, to base and ignoble persons, as Yorcke heraulde hath at large sett downe in a booke delivered to the King’s Majesty.

“He falsefyed Pedegrees alsoe, as that of Harbourne being of xij. descents, wherein hee made vj. Knights, which God nor man never knewe, nor the man himselfe, when hee was called before the deputy commissioners, could justify no further then his grandfather, who was reputed to be an honest man, but of meane fortune.

“In a Patent which he made of armes to be sent to an Englishman that was become the Kinge of Spayne’s subjecte, hee writt himselfe throughout in the Plurall number (*nos et nobis*) as absolute princes use to doe, and in the ende left out the Queene’s stile of *defensor fidei*, because it should not bee displeasinge to the Spaniards, who then were our enemyes.

“Hee gave also the aunicyent and royall armes of England, with very litle difference, to one Donkin, a playsterer.

“In the carryadge of himselfe unto his fellows in office he was alwaies a tyraunte; ffor some he sued, some he charged with felonye, some he beate, others he revyled, and all hee wronged.

“In the late Queene’s tyme he would have brought Somerset Glover (an honest man and very worthy heraulde) in question of his life, for delivering in private conference between them his opinion touching the succession: and yett Somersett did not say expresly who should succeed, but said he was of the opinion of Pollidor Virgill, that the yssue of Henry the 7th were to be preferred before others: well, I will not agravate this poynte any further, because the King’s majestie (as I am informed) hath seene the very informacion itselfe, written with Dethick’s owne hande againste Somersett, whereby it appeared that Dethicke was then no well willer unto the King’s Majestie succeeding righte.

“His assaultes and batteryes were to long to write. Two only shall be remembred, because they were at funeralls, and in churches. At the funerall of Sir Henry Sidneye, att Penshurst, he beate the minister in the church; and in the Abbye of Westminster, att the funerall of the Countesse of Sussex, he strooke and hurte with his dagger one Browne, and Draper, brother-in-lawe to Sir William Wade. For the which he indicted him at Newgate; but, by the favour of Mr. Fleetwood, then Recorder, at a purchased sessions, Dethick was acquitted, because Browne (not knowing thereof) appeared not.

“His behaviour in France, when he went with the Earle of Shrewsbury to carry the Garter to the French King that now is, is most ridiculous, as challenging to sitt above, and to bee served att a board by himselfe; his wearing of a blew ribband, like a knight of the order; his withholding the commission from the Ambassadors, &c., as the Earle had often reported and protested that he was never more troubled with a man in his life.

“His dealing for Rotheram was notorious against the Earle of Kent, and deserved to have beene highly punished in the Starre Chamber, yf he had had his right, as I have heard by Lord Chancellor that now is say.

“But, omitting to say much of these matters, and many others is to be intended, that though the corporall punishment be pardoned, the faultes are not to be taken away, nor to be forgotten.

“It resteth therefore, that we say somewhat how he hath demeaned himself since the King's pardon was obtayned.

“In the late Ambasee to the Duke of Wirtemberghe, wherein he was joyned in commission with the Lord Spencer for the investing of the said Duke with the Order of the Garter, his behaviour and carriage was such and so insolent, as there is no president of the like to be found; ffor, besides that he tooke upon him to bee Ambassadour, (which he yet maintaineth)

and sett up his armes and styles wheresoever he came, he compared with the Lord Ambassador for gentrye, and quarrelled with the knights and gentlemen his followers for preceedency, to their great disturbance: hee forceably kept the commission from the Ambassadour, and sent him a coppie in paper, saying it concerned him more then the Ambassador.

“And when the day of solempnizing the feast came, hee challenged to sitt alone at a table, under an estate, as the Ambassador did, and was served on the knee with carver, tast, and assaye, as a great lord.

“The Lord Ambassadour, being ashamed to see him take so much upon him, sent him worde at the table where he sate, that he forgott himselfe greatly; and that hee should ryse, and doe his office, that was, to proclayme the King's style and the Duke's, hee most arrogantly sent him worde againe that he knewe better what belonged to his office then he could tell him; and if hee did any thinge which hee did mislike, hee bidd him putt it into his wryteing tables, and he would answer it when he came home, &c.

“To be breife, in their retourne homeward, hee forsooke the Ambassadour, and pretended to goe through Fraunce. Because he would sell his horse att Paris, he directed his course to the French Courte, and there communicated to the King his legation to the Duke of Wirtembergh, with all the circumstances thereof; the King brought him to the Queene, whose hands hee kiste, with many other complements and jests which passed betweene the Kinge and him, as sithence he hath vainely boasted.

“How high a faulte this was for an Officer of Armes, joyned in commission with a Lord Ambassadour, ffirst to abuse him, and then to forsake him in the journey, and, without warrant, to visitt a forreigne Kinge, and to enforme him of that which perhaps was not requisite to bee knowne, I leave to the judgment of your Lordships, being in myself fully persuaded that

times have beene that a great man for a lesse faulte might very easily have lost his life.

“Lastly, upon his retourne home, the Kinge’s Majestie displaced him from his office, and by a commission under the Greate Seale of England directed unto the Earle Marshall, caused William Seager, now Garter, to be created, sworne, and invested in his place, giving him his hande signett and privy seale for the execucion therof, the which for these two yeares (almost) hee hath done, and beene ymployed by the King’s Majestie in divers royall and publique services. The place of Norroye, Kinge of Armes, which Seager served before, is given to Windsor Herauld; the place of Windsor to Portcullis Pursivant; and the place of Portcullis to Roze Pursevaunte extraordinarye.

“Hereupon Sir William Dethicke, att a Marshall Courte holden in Lent last, humblie and voluntarily submitted himself unto the Lordes Marshalls, and by the mouth of his learned counsel, Mr. Whitlock, acknowledged his imperfections and weaknesse, beseeching their Lordships to be suitors to the King’s Majestie for him, that he might have some competent support dureing his life, which it pleased their Lordships to promise and undertake, and caused it to be entred into their Register Booke, as an Order.

“Notwithstanding all which, Mr. William Dethick, growing impatient of delaye, hath not only caused the Register to corrupt their Lordships’ Order, by crossing and interlyning of the same to his purpose, but doth alsoe sue an assize against the said William Seager for his office, challenging the same to bee his freehould, even as it were in contempte of his Majestie and their Lordships’ proceedings.”

ART. VIII.—*Original History of "The Theatre," in Shoreditch, and connexion of the Burbadge family with it.*

In the "Memoirs of the Principal Actors in the Plays of Shakespeare," (contained in the list of them which precedes the folio of 1623) and in what I have said regarding Richard Burbadge, (pp. 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11) I have introduced some important documents in Chancery, to which my attention was kindly directed by Mr. Monro, one of the Registrars. I apprehended, as I stated, that they referred to the original construction of the Blackfriars Theatre, where many of Shakespeare's dramas were represented; but I since find that they apply to the building which from the first was specifically denominated "The Theatre," in reference to the purpose for which it was erected—the exhibition of what were then ordinarily called stage-plays. No particular edifice, nor any specific locality, was mentioned in the proceedings in Chancery; and as the Blackfriars Theatre and the two playhouses known as "The Theatre" and "The Curtain," in Shoreditch, were built nearly about the same time, (the Burbadge family having an interest in each) I was misled in supposing that the newly discovered papers, which Mr. Monro put into my hands, appertained to the first of the three. In fact, they belong to the second, as I am now prepared to show from other documents, to which my notice was recently drawn by Mr. F. Devon, of the Chapter House, Westminster.

It will be more intelligible, and perhaps more satisfactory, if I do not extract in full detail the documents themselves, but refer to them in a narrative form, inserting here and there, in the words of the originals, such points as I think merit peculiar attention. The papers are very interesting, in relation to the commencement of dramatic performances at a fixed place in the metropolis, and in connexion also with the origin and character of the Burbadge family, one of the

members of which sustained nearly all the principal personages in Shakespeare's plays, from the beginning to the end of the career of our great dramatist.

The records belong to a rather later period than those I have cited at length in my Memoir of Richard Burbadge, viz., to the 42nd of Elizabeth, 1599-1600.

It appears that James Burbadge, the father of Cuthbert, Richard, and other children, was by trade "a joiner:" this is a new fact, for hitherto we have known him only as one of the actors in the company of the Earl of Leicester, in May, 1574: he was then, as we may presume, at the head of the association, for his name comes first in the patent for the players, which his Lordship procured. Moreover, James Burbadge is called "of London," as indeed he might be, even if we imagine (and there is no reason to think otherwise) that he and his family, in the first instance, came from Stratford-upon-Avon. He perhaps settled in London in his trade as a joiner, and not as an actor; and in a lease dated 1575, when it is quite certain that he followed playing as a profession, he might prefer to be called a joiner rather than a player, recollecting how much acting and all that was connected with it were looked down upon at the time. Besides, the very circumstance of his trade might the better qualify him to engage in the construction of a theatre, which, in the outset of our established stage, were generally and principally formed of wood. The lease was granted to him by Giles Allein, Alleyne, or Allen, (for the name is spelt in three different ways) of Hasleigh, Essex, gentleman, on the 13th April, 18 Eliz., as James Burbadge, joiner.¹ We may presume that this was

¹ Richard Lowin, the father of John Lowin, the distinguished actor in Shakespeare's plays, was also a carpenter, residing in Cripplegate. John Lowin did not become a performer until after the building and opening of the Fortune Theatre, in the parish in which his father carried on business; and it is not at all impossible, though we have no evidence on the point, that the son became a player by reason of the employment of his father

the business to which he had been brought up, and which he carried on perhaps after he became an actor, and one of the players of the Earl of Leicester.

The lease of which I speak was that of the very piece of ground on which "The Theatre" afterwards stood, together with some other buildings: it is described, in the spring of 1575, as "certen howsing and voyde groundes, lying and being in Hollywell, in the County of Middlesex."¹ The term was for twenty-one years, and the rent £14; and it was stipulated that it should be lawful for James Burbadge, within the first ten years of his lease, to take down any buildings upon the premises, for the purpose of erecting "a Theater, or playing-place." At this date, therefore, there was nothing in the shape of a playhouse on the ground, so that we now know for the first time that "The Theatre" was not constructed until after 13th April, 1575. When we find Lambard speaking of it in his "Perambulation of Kent," 1576, (*sub loco Boxley*) it must have been quite a new edifice, which had been run up by James Burbadge immediately after the execution of the lease to him by Giles Allein.

as a carpenter in the construction of the Fortune. At all events, it is indisputable that two of the greatest actors of Shakespeare's day, and in Shakespeare's dramas, were the sons of carpenters: see the account of John Lowin in the *Memoirs of the Actors*, p. 166.

¹ We quote the particular description of the property from an answer of Giles Allein to a bill in the Court of Requests, viz:—"Two houses, one held by Joan Harrison and the other by John Draggon, together with some ground at the back of them, occupied by William Garnett, gardener; a building called the Mill-house, with its garden, held by Ewin Colefoxe, weaver, with three upper rooms, occupied by Thomas Dancaster, shoemaker, and three nether roomes under them occupied by Alice Dottridge, widow, and Richard Brackenburye, with the gardens behind them; and also one great Barn, with the appurtenances, being in the occupation of Hugh Richardes, innholder, and Robert Stoughton, butcher." Allein and his wife inhabited a dwelling-house adjoining, and they formally gave liberty to James Burbadge and his family to fetch and draw water at their well.

For the erection of his theatre, James Burbadge was to be allowed the use of any old materials, and was, moreover, to expend £200 upon the ground, though it does not appear what amount was to be laid out upon the playhouse, and what upon other buildings. One of the old edifices allowed to be demolished was a large barn, but James Burbadge did not convert it into the Theatre, but into small dwelling-places, or cottages, which were let at a low rent; and it was afterwards complained, in the course of the proceedings in the Court of Requests, that Burbadge's tenants in these cottages mainly supported themselves by begging and vagrancy.

"The Theatre" was built immediately, and there is no doubt that it was applied as soon as possible to the purpose for which it was intended. In the proceedings in Chancery, as detailed in the Memoir of Richard Burbadge, it is stated that James Burbadge had borrowed part of the necessary money from a Mr. Brayne, Mr. Brayne being the father of the wife of James Burbadge: in consideration of that advance, James Burbadge assigned to his father-in-law the moiety of the Theatre and other new buildings upon Allein's ground, and out of this assignment, and certain bonds given on the occasion, grew the suit which has furnished us with the documents containing this information.

There was another covenant in the bargain between James Burbadge and Giles Allein in April, 1575, which was, that if the former built "The Theatre" and other edifices upon the ground, he should, at the end of ten years, be entitled to claim from Allein a renewal of his lease for twenty-one years more. When James Burbadge tendered his new lease for Allein's signature, he alleged that he had done all that was necessary to entitle him to the execution of it, and it was not denied by Allein, that he had expended a thousand marks upon the Theatre alone. A thousand marks is nearly £700, a very large sum, at that date, to be laid out on such a structure. Nevertheless, Allein would not fulfil his agreement,

alleging that James Burbadge had made over all his interest in the premises to a person of the name of John Hide, and that he had, besides, been a very bad tenant. Hide, of whom we know nothing, on his part conveyed all his right and title to Cuthbert, one of the sons of James Burbadge; and, as Allein positively refused to grant a new lease, it seems that Cuthbert Burbadge continued in possession of the premises under the old lease, which, as already stated, was for twenty-one years, at a rent of £14 per annum.

This original lease would expire in 1596; and Allein asserted, in the course of a farther proceeding in the Court of Requests in 1602, that his intention had been, "seeinge the great and greevous abuses that grow by theatres," to "pull down the same, and to convert the wood and timber thereof to some better use." These terms might show that the building was formed of no more substantial materials than wood and timber, but bricks are elsewhere mentioned. The Burbadges, however, did not relinquish possession at the end of their term, when, according to Allein, £30 was due to him for arrears of rent. James Burbadge, the father of the family, died in February, 1596-7, and having made, as Allein asserted, a deed of gift of his property to his two sons, Cuthbert and Richard, the widow took out letters of administration. The young men, knowing that they must soon give up "The Theatre" and its appurtenances to the owner of the ground, resolved to carry away the materials to the Bank-side, where, it is to be borne in mind, the Globe play-house had been erected by Peter Street, the carpenter, in the year 1594, in pursuance of an extant agreement between him and Richard Burbadge, dated 22nd December, 1593.

The *ex-parte* statement of Allein upon this point is, that "about 28 Dec., 41 Eliz.," Cuthbert Burbadge confederated with his brother James, Peter Street, (the carpenter who built the Globe) William Smith, "and divers other persons

to the number of twelve," and "ryotously assembled themselves together, and then and there armed themselves with divers unlawfull and offensive weapons, as, namely, swordes, daggers, billes, axes, and such like;" and, in spite of Allein and the men he employed, "carried away all the wood and timber unto the Bankside, in the parish of St. Mary Overyes, and there erected a new play-house with the said timber and wood."

Now, it is impossible that this can be true: that they carried away some of the wood and timber is a fact; but the 41st year of the reign of Elizabeth, when they are said to have done so, and "erected a new playhouse," was 1599, and we know that the only playhouse in which Burbadge was interested on the Bankside was the Globe, which had been completed and opened, at the latest, in 1595. Neither was any other new theatre erected on the Bankside in 1599; so that the two Burbadges could not have sold their materials to any other persons for such a purpose, as far as related to the Bankside. They might indeed have disposed of them to Philip Henslowe, who not long afterwards constructed the Fortune theatre; but that playhouse, as everybody is aware, was in the parish of Cripplegate, far distant from the Bankside. The truth may be, and probably was, that the Burbadges employed the materials they brought from Shoreditch in the repair or enlargement of the Globe; but it is quite certain that they did not build "a new playhouse with the said timber and wood," on the Bankside.

The Burbadges maintain, on their part, that they did no more than they were legally authorized to do. By the terms of the original lease from Allein, James Burbadge, the father, was entitled, as they alleged, to remove the materials of which "The Theatre" was constructed: that lease expired, and Cuthbert Burbadge continued an annual tenant to Allein, and when that tenancy was put an end to, he insisted that he had then a right to carry away the timber and wood of "The

Theatre," just as he might have done at the expiration of the lease granted in 1575.¹

Allein, at that date, as he says, "an aged man," seems to have pursued the matter with great rancour against the two theatrical brothers; and this is proved by the fact that he even charged two of the subordinate parties with perjury, when they swore that James Burbadge in 1586 had laid out £240 upon the premises in repairs. We find no ground for disbelieving these witnesses (Richard Hudson and Thomas Osborne, carpenters) and it is to be recollected that 1586 was about the period when James Burbadge was authorized to claim of Allein a renewed lease for twenty-one years. Another circumstance shows that Allein was in a very revengeful disposition in the suit: it is this; that he went the absurd length of imputing to the Registrar of the Court of Requests, Richard Lane, that he had entered into a conspiracy with Cuthbert and Richard Burbadge, by which he was to record the decree of the Judges more favourably to them than to him. This last accusation does not appear to have been persevered in; but of course Lane was obliged to answer Allein's bill, exhibited against him, which was declared to be both "untrue and slanderous."

As no decree, that I am aware of, has been preserved either in the Chancery suit, or in that subsequently instituted in the Court of Requests, we can only guess at the decision. It appears that an issue at common law had been directed by

¹ The last notice we possess of "The Theatre" is contained in Edward Guilpins' "Skialetheia, the Shadow of Truth," which was printed in 1598. The playhouse was still standing at that date, but out of use, and empty: the author likens a melancholy man to it, when he says—

"But see yonder,

One, like the unfrequented Theatre,
Walks in dark silence and vast solitude."

This must have been written very shortly before the house was pulled down by the Burbadges, and the materials carried away to the Bankside.

the Lord Chancellor ; and the Burbadges were the instigators of the proceedings in the Court of Requests for an injunction to stay Allein from prosecuting his suit in equity until the decision of the action at common law. Which party had most justice on their side is not a point of the smallest consequence now, but the facts I have drawn from the bills and answers, in relation especially to "The Theatre" in Shoreditch, are new and valuable.

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

Kensington, 10th November, 1848.

ART. IX.—*Two specimens of the Poetry of Philip Stubbes, the author of "The Anatomy of Abuses," 1583, and the enemy of theatrical performances, unknown to bibliographers.*

In pursuance of my promise, (vol. iii., p. 16) I now send the copy of a very rare (I apprehend, unique) poetical tract by Philip Stubbes, the author of "The Anatomy of Abuses," 1583, in which, as is well known, is contained his celebrated attack on theatrical performances. This, I take it, brings him within the purpose of our Society, established "for the illustration of Shakespeare and his works, and for the elucidation of any matter connected with the history and condition of our early drama and stage." Stubbes seems to have been the third printed opponent of plays, play-makers, and players; and on a future occasion I shall endeavour to furnish some particulars of his life, which have hitherto escaped notice, but are worth preserving.

It is very clear that the great bibliographical authority, Ritson, knew nothing of this tract but what Stubbes himself says of it in the second impression of his "Anatomy of Abuses," which, like the first impression, came out in 1583. It is contained in the chapter headed "Greate swearyng in Ailgna," which, in fact, is new in that edition, not being contained in the one which preceded it. On fo. 83 B., the following passage occurs:

"There was a certaine yong man dwellyng in Enlocnilshire, in Ailgna, (whose tragicall discourse I my self penned about two yeares agoe, referring you to the said booke for the further declaration therof) who was alwaies a filthie swearer: his common othe was by God's bloud. The Lorde, willyng his conversion, chastised him with sicknesse, manie times, to leave the same, and moved others ever to admonish him of his wickednesse: but all chastisementes and lovyng

corrections of the Lorde, al freendly admonitions and exhortations of others he utterly contemned, stil persevering in his bloudie kinde of swearyng. Then the Lord, seeing that nothing would prevaile to winne him, arested him with his Sargeant Death, who with speede laied holde on hym and cast hym upon his death bed, where he languished a great while in extreeme miserie, not forgettyng to spewe out his olde vomite of swearyng. At the last, the people perceiving his ende approach, caused the Bell to toll, who hearyng the Bell toll for him, rushed up in his bed very vehemently, sayng, 'God's bloud, he shall not have me yet.' With that his bloud gushed out, some at his toes endes, some at his fingers endes, some at his wristes, some at his nose and mouth, some at one joint of his body, some at an other, never ceasing till all the bloud of his bodie was stremed forthe: and thus ended this bloudie swearer his mortall life, whose judgement I leave to the Lord."

This is the subject of the first portion of the tract I enclose, and of this Ritson, as I have said, obtained only a hint from an edition of "The Anatomy of Abuses" posterior to the first. The tract itself, it will be seen, comprises the narrative in verse of another incident, of a somewhat corresponding character, which happened at Donnington, in Leicestershire, and of which narrative in verse I can find no hint in any work of a bibliographical kind. I transmit a copy of the whole; not that they have the smallest pretension to merit on the score of authorship, but merely because they came from the pen of a man who had made himself so notorious: the title-page is a facsimile. The work is the more curious, because I am not aware of the existence of any other specimen of versification by Philip Stubbes, excepting a dialogue between "The Author and his Booke," on two widely printed pages, prefixed to the "Anatomy of Abuses" in all the editions of that popular production.

Before I conclude, I may mention that, either by my own error, or that of the printer, there is a mistake at the close of my last communication, where a reference is given to Camden's Annals of Elizabeth, under the year 1586: it ought, of course, to be 1585, for Parry was executed on 2d March of that year.

JAMES PURCELL REARDON.

27th April, 1848.

Two wunderfull and
rare Examples.

Of the vnderferred and present
approching iudgement of the Lord our God: the
one vpon a wicked and pernicious blasphem-
mer of the name of God, and seruauunt
to one Maister *Frauncis Pennell*,
Gentleman, dwelling at *Booth-*
bie, in *Lincolnshire*, three
myle from *Grantham*.

The other vpon a woman, named
Ioane Bowser, dwelling at *Donnington*, in *Lei-*
cestershire, to whome the Deuill verie
straungely appeared, as in the dis-
course following, you may
reade. In *Iune* last. 1581.

Written by Phillip Stubbes.

Imprinted at London for
William Wright, and are to be solde at
his shoppe in the Poultrie: the middle
shoppe in the rowe, adioyning to
Saint Mildred's Church.

Two rare examples, to mooue
all Christians to repentaunce, the one
 of an odious swearer, the other a widdow
 named *Ioane Bowser, &c.*

It is a pittifull case to consider the inordinate sinnes wherein the world at this time is as it were drowned. For where hath not iniquity gotten the upper hand? Is not pride, whoredome, swearing and lying (by the mallice of the Deuill) even in the time of the Gospel, more frequented and helde in estimation then at any other time heeretofore? How many counterfeit visors hath follie practised to cover all her traines of subiltie, perswading her immitators with such madnesse, that modestie is driven into exyle. Are not the hearts of men so fast lulled in the cradle of Securitie, that Pittie is forgotten, Charitie fledde, Mercie exiled, Avarice exalted, good Conscience banished, and the poore vncherished, and the Gospell of Trueth as a shaddowe, with the lyppes professed, but in effect little followed? Nay, rather the more is the pittie, Exhortations, Examples, Earthquakes, vnnaturall birthes, as well in men as beastes, nothing regarded: which thing dooth but foreshowe that our dayes are the verie same which the Apostle Paule to Tymothie, 7 Chapter, dooth so warelie warne vs to take heede off, saying: *In the later daies, men shall become louers of them selues, disobedient, evill speakers, &c.* And who can be so blinde that dooth not see these thinges growne to such corruption, that the Scithe of God's wrath is no doubt ready to mowe us, as unprofitable brambles, from the face of the earth, except we repent?

And heere, deare brethren, I have to present unto your eyes a rare example of the justice of God vpon a great blasphemmer of the precious blood of Christe, which came to passe

in Lincolnshire, in the moneth of Iune last past, in a towne called Boothebie, three myles from Granthame, in the house of a good Gentleman, bothe of woorshippe and credite, named Maister Pennell; who hauing entertained this seruingman, (for so he was) who had styll in his mouth the use to sweare, God's precious blood, and that for verie trifles. Thus, notwithstanding beeing often warned by his freendes to leave the taking of the Lord's blood in vaine, did notwithstanding styll persist in his wickednesse; untyll at the last it pleased God to acite him first with sicknesse, and last with Death. During which time of the Lordes visitation, no perswasions could mooue him to repent his foreused blasphemies; but hearing the Bell to towle, dyd most hardlie, in the verie anguishe of death, starte vp in his bedde, and sware by God's blood this Bell dooth towle for me: whereuppon immediatlíe the blood aboundauntly from all the ioyntes of his body, as it were in streames, did issue out most fearefullie, as well from mouth, nose, wrestes, knees, heeles, and toes, with all other ioynts, not one left free: wherevpon he most myserablie yeelded up the ghost, whose judgement I leave unto the Lord.

And nowe I will proceede to shewe one other as straunge a judgement happening in Leicestershire, in a towne called Donnington, where dwelled a poore man named Iohn Twell, who deceased, owing unto one Oswald Bowcer the summe of fíue shilling, which the sayde Oswalde did forgive the sayde man before named, as he lay upon his death bedde; but the sayde Oswaldes wife, called Ioane, would in no wise forgive the sayde Twell as long (she sayde) as she had day to live. Whereupon, not long after, the Deuill appeared vnto her in the forme of the sayd Twell, deceased, expressing all the lyneamentes of the body of the dead man; which might well be, for we reade in the Bible, in the like order did Sathan counterfeit the body of Samuell. But to proceede to the matter: this evill Spirit uttered unto her these speeches,

and sayd he had brought her mony from Iohn Twell, deceased, and willed her incontinent to disburse the sayd money unto her husband for his paines. Which she, with as covetous a desire, receyved, saying, God thanke you. She had no sooner named God, but the money consumed away from betweene her handes, as it were a vapour or smoake, tyll it was all consumed: wherewith the Deuill, giving her a most fearefull and sore stroke, vanished out of her sight.

Wherewith her whole body became as blacke as pitche, replenished all over with a moste filthy scurffe and other thinges, which was so odious, as heere my pen for modesties sake leaveth to wright, referring you to the verses heereafter ensuing. But to proceede: her body was most straungely benumbed, and her eyes closed up from the benefite of the light. Thus remayning a certaine space, she confessed the hardnesse of her heart, and with great patience thanked God for his judgements bestowed on her. Whereupon, to be breefe, it pleased God, seeing her repentaunce, to revoke his justice, and to restore her unto her former health, where she remayned praying the name of God for his great mercies bestowed upon her. And I beseech the Lord Iesus, that these rare examples may not onely be read, but warily marked, to the amendment of our most sinfull and wicked lives, and that blasphemers may beware and take heede how they more reverentlie in their communication use the name of God: and that these harde-hearted people, who will not forgive their brethren, be the debt never so small; but, as it is well mentioned in the Gospell, will for a hundreth pence catch their poore brethren by the throate, forgetting howe many debtes our heavenly Father hath forgiven us, and washed us in his blood. To whome be all honour and glorie: Amen.

A fearefull and terrible example of God's
iuste iudgement, executed vpon a lewde fellow, who vsually
accustomed to sweare by God's blood, which may
be a Caueat to all the whole world, that they
blaspheme not the name of their
God by swearing.

O mortall men, which in this world for time haue your repast,
Approch the fearefulst thing to heare that euer happened erst;
Yea, such a thing as dooth importe the Lord our God on hye,
Through swearing by his blessed name, offended for to be.

Which straung euent, whilst that I doo perpend and to minde
call,

My penne (in trothe) is readie prest out of my hand to fall:
My hart also dooth quaile in brest, my eyes distill a pace,
'The saulte and brinish teares also do trickle downe my face.

But yet, good pen, hould on thy course, to write doo thou
not linne,

For I the truthe to prosecute hereof will now beginne.

There is a towne in Lincolneshire, which Bothbie hath to
name,

Just three miles distant from Grantam, a towne of auncient
fame.

Wherein there dwels a Gentleman, the truthe for to decyde,
Who Frauncis Pennell called is, this may not be denyed.
It pleased God this Gentleman into his house did hyre
A Seruingman t'atende him on, borne in Worstershire.

Which sayd youngman inclyned was vnto a thing not good,
As for to sweare by Christ his flesh, and by his precious blood:

So nusled vp heerein he was, that leaue it he ne could,
But at each woord which he should speake, by God's blood
 sweare he would.

It was his vsuall kinde of oath, (O Sathanist most vile)
Wherewith he did his louing God pollute and eke defyle;
Vse dooth, you see, transnature vs, and bringeth vs to
 wracke;
Yea, makes a metamorphosis of vs behinde our backe.

Wherefore let vs estraunge our selues from customes that be
 naught,
Hauing regard vnto our soules, which Jesus Christe hath
 bought:
Now Christe our Lord and Father deere in iudgement doth
 proceede,
Hurling at this miscreant vile his thunderbolts of dread.

Meaning in Justice for to make this viper, varlet he,
A terrour vnto all the world of swearing for to be.
Wherefore our Lord commaunded death at him to shoote his
 darte,
Who straight, without protract of time, gored him vnto the
 harte.

Now, when that he the panges of Death did feele, and eke
 sustaine,
Than he began, as you haue heard, God's name for to blas-
 pheme,
And neuer ceased for to sweare by Jesus Christe his blood
Vntyll his soule at the last gaspe foorth of his body yood.

And in this cruell extasie he passionate did lie
The space of three or fowre whole weekes, styll swearing
 bytterlie.

Now when that he had languished the space that I haue
sayde,

The people they perceyuing it, of force he would be dead,

Caused the Bell for to be tolde, that all for him might pray,
Beseeching God his soule to keepe against the dreadfull
day.

But when that he had heard this Bell knolling most drerilie,
He rushing vp, sayd, by God's blood, this Bell it tolles
for me.

He had no sooner spoke these wordes which I haue shewed
to you,

But that a pace his heart blood did foorth of his body flowe ;
For why, out of his fingers endes his blood did streame full
faste ;

So did it foorth at his toes endes, which made them all agaste.

And yet the Lord proceeded foorth, this trayterous wight to
scorge :

The blood gusht out, yea, at his wrests, much like the foming
surge,

So did it also at his nose runne foorth abundantlie,
With other filthie excrements, which man dooth lothe to see.

Thus died he, committing his soule to the furies fell,
Which doo possesse th' infernall gulfe and Laberinth of hell.
Than was his body straight interde, although (in trueth)
forlorne,

For whome it had beene better farre if he had not beene
borne.

Whose heart is now so obdurate, that hearing of this thing,
Will not permit out of the same great floods of teares to
spring ?

Or whose minde is so fascinate, or eke so lulde on sleepe,
That for to heare heereof will not constrained be to weepe?

And that for feare he should his God, through swearing, thus
offend,

And thereby purchase to him selfe like dyre and rufull end.
O you that sweare at euerie word, repleate with deuilrie,
For to abstaine from swearing vile let this a caueat be.

For sure you are as guiltie of the death of Christe Jesu
As euer were the cursed Jewes which on the Crosse him
slew :

But (oh, alas) so farre are we from leauing of this vice,
That we will not expung the same, but therein doo reioyce.

We count that man heroicall, and of a courage good,
Who can lashe out the greatest oathes by Jesus Christe his
blood,

And he that will not sweare at all, for feare of punishment,
He counted is a sottishe foole, and eke a mere Peasant.

But now me thinkes I heare these Dogs t'expostulate with me,
And say they haue their God in minde when that they sweare
him bie,

But to you men most Serpentine the Lord dooth say againe,
Thou shalt not take the name of me, the Lord thy God, in
vaine.

Whiche Lord dooth the command, in Mathew this is plaine,
That thou at all from swearing should for euer to abstaine,
Prouing that what proceedeth more than this, yea yea, no, no,
Dooth come from the infernall Prince, our mortall deadly foe.

Th' apostle Iames dooth vs instruct by wordes effectuall,
Saying to vs, O brethren deere, doo you not sweare at all.

By other places infinite of holie Scripture pure
We are restrained, we should not sweare at all, by no creature.

For that is vile idolatrie, farre from a learned lore,
Which thing we ought at all assayes to lothe and to abhorre.
Wherefore I heereof doo conclude, without remorse or
grudge,
That all vaine oathes vnlawfull are, not made before a judge.

For sure I am we neuer ought at any time to sweare,
Except the Christian Magistrate by lawe doo it require;
And if before him we doo sweare in trueth and holinesse,
The Lord him selfe acknowledgeth he thereby honoured is.

And thus I end, beseeching God of his especiall grace
That we all sinful swearing may abandone in each place.
Elizabeth our noble Queene, good Lord, preserue and sheeld,
That shee thy chaste and faithfull Spowse may still maintaine
and build.

Make her, O Lord, a Mother olde in Israell thy owne hill:
Graunt that shee may in all respectes obey thy godlie will.
Good Lord, protect her royall Grace, and blesse her with
long life,
That this thy Realme may long remaine in peace, voide of all
strife.

Let her, O Lord, be placed farre distant from cruell death,
And all that will not say Amen, would God they had no breath!

PHILLIP STUBBES.

F I N I S.

A fearefull and rare example of God's iust
iudgement, which he executed vpon an obstinate woman, who
 would not forgiue her brother his debt, the Deuill appea-
 ring to her in most dreadful manner, and afflicting
 her body in pittifull wise, and which may be
 a lesson admonitory to all the world
 to mooue them to repentaunce, and
 one to forgiue an other.

The workes of God are wonderfull, as you by this shall heare ;
 Wherefore attentiu eare I craue to hearken to my leyre :
 Good Penne, prepare thy selfe to write those things I shall
 require,
 Which happened in Donington, a Towne of Lestershire.

A Towne trully of auncientie and of renowned fame ;
 For otherwise to speake thereof, in troth, I were to blame ;
 But as the Towne it famous is, and worthy so to be,
 So are the people ineffrenate, peruerse in each degree.

In Donington, the foresayd Towne, there dwelt an honest man,
 Whose name in truthe was Iohn of Twell, so neere as I can
 scan,
 Which sayd Iohn Twell arested was by Death, that cruell wight,
 T'appeare before our Souereigne Lord, the pearles King of
 might.

So called hence (I wis) he was, he owing shillings fiue
 Unto one Oswalde Bowser, sure an honest man and blyue ;
 Which Bowser he forgaue it him vppon his death bead thoe,
 But Ioan Bowser, wife to him, in no wise would doo so.

But spoke and sayd, yea blasde abroad (for this is veritie)
 I neuer will forgiue it him vntill the time I die.

Now, whilst that she persisted thus in her pestiferous state,
It pleased God the Diuell should her corps infatuate.

For as she was disposde to sleep towards the euening tyde,
When Phœbus with his glistering beames towards the west
can glide,
The Diuell he appearde to her in such an ugly shape,
As forste she was in euery parte to tremble and to quake.

And then she lyfting vp her eyes, which now doo giue her
light,
Saw one before her for to stand as black as is the night,
Which thing she sayde (what so it was) that vnto her was sent
Did portraie forthe the sayde Iohn Twell in corporall lyneament.

Farther she sayd, he had bleard eyes, as had the forsayde Twell,
Resembling him in each respect so neere as she could tell.
This Hidra than most serpentine spake thus the woman till:
Receauue this mony which I bring to satisfie thy wyll.

And see that thou disburse the same vnto thy husband well,
And say that I doo send it him, as due for his trauell.
Then she tooke vp the money sure, with ioy and comfort
fraught,
For that she had so luckely this masse of monie caught.

Thus she, with ioy inebriate in all and euery part,
Brust foorth and saide, now God you thanke, oh, sir, with
all my hart.
Now, when that she had spoke of God, our God Iehouah hie,
The monie then out of her hand apace did vade away.

And he withall vanisht away, and that in fearefull sight,
She still persisting, sore perplexed, and in a wofull plight.

But yet before he did depart he smit her with his hand,
Yea, such a deadly blow he gaue, as vnneth could she stand.

And straightway then her corpes became in parte as blacke
as pitche,

Replenished with filthy scurffe, as (almost) none is such:
And other dregges most fettulent issued from her then,
Which modestie and reason eke commaunds me not to penne.

And from that time vntill of late her body it was lame,
Not able sure to put in vre the practise of the same;
For in good soothe her body was benumbde and eke betakte:
The space of three or foure whole weekes all comfort her forsakte.

Her eyes also were closed vp, of sight she was made blinde,
Thanking her God who to her had his prouidence assignde.
Now, when the Diuell had disgorgde his stinking poysoned
brest
Of all the mallice that she could her body to infest,

It pleased God that she should be to health againe restorde,
By whom all sinne and wickednes God graunt may be abhord:
And now she liueth honestly, and ready is to shoue
Vnto the world the workes of God perfected heare belowe.

Who graunt to vs his grace deuine and pardon his so free,
That vnto vs in heauen blisse a guerdon it may be.
This woman she was plagued full sore, and hereby you may view:
The same t' ourselues, let vs applie, that we may sinne eschew.

For if that we stifnecked be, and loathe for to remitte
Th' offences which to vs are due, a thing both good and fit,
Then is the Lord as able now as euer heretofore
To plague vs still with tortures fell, for euer to indure.

And in his holy woord most pure he dooth vs all commaund,
 That we th' offences to vs done to forgiue should not stand;
 Proouing that God, our father deere, will not forgiue us all
 Our manifold inormities when that on him we call,

Vnleast that we be ready prest each other to forgiue
 The synnes and eke th' offences all of those that doo vs greeue.
 Wherefore let vs (deere Christians) mauger the Deuil's head,
 Forgiue them all that doo offend vs before we be dead.

Or els we neuer can be saued by Jesus Christ his death,
 A sacrifice saluificall to them that liue by faithe;
 For after death it is too late his mercy to desire,
 Because we would not them forgiue which did offend vs heare.

No doubt these wonders from aboue to vs belowe are sente
 To subiugate our hautie lookes, and mooue vs to repent.
 Therefore, thou Towne of Donington, I read thee to repent,
 For by procrastination, in trothe, thou mayst be shent.

Thinke thou this is a presagie of God's fearce wrath to thee,
 If that thou cleaue not to his woord, and eke repentant be.
 God hath thee warned now by this, and that in freendly sorte,
 To leaue thy whoredome and thy pride, and all thy filthy
 sporte.

Abandon, then, out of thy streates all mirth and minstrelsie;
 No Pipers, nor no Dauncers vile, in thee let extant be;
 Remember thou thy lately plague of blayne, of botche, and
 bile,
 Whereby thy God did scourge thee sore, least sinne should
 thee defile.

O Donington, fall not againe vnto thy vomite old,
 In filthy, scurrile, bawdie talke, doo not thy selfe vphold;

Ne yet with vaine and bloody othes doo not thy selfe imbrew,
For than the Lord will throwe thee downe amid the Deuil's
crew.

Flie from all wordly vanities, the woord of God imbrase:
Set not abroche opinions vile the same for to deface,
And in this lyuing thou shalt be safe from all worldly foes,
And in the world that is to come shall haue aye lasting
ioyes.

To write hereof at this time more my penne I doo suspend,
Beseeching God that we may haue heauen at our last end.
And now, O gentle Donington, be mindefull yet of me,
Who haue with paines contriued this same for looue I beare
to thee.

Requite me not with wrath againe: that were disloyaltie,
But see that thou accept hereof as best beseemeth thee;
And as a pledge of my good will let this be vnto thee,
Desiring God that I thy state in health and wealth may see.

Our noble Queene Elizabeth in health and honour eke,
Good Lord, preserue to Nestor's dayes, that she thy truthe
may keepe.
From bloody hands of forraine foes, good Lord, her saue and
shend:
Graunt that at all assayes she may by thee still be defend.

And when thou shalt her royall grace in mercie to thee call,
Graunt (Lord) that she with thee may haue thy ioyes ce-
lestiall.

Amen.

PHILLIP STUBBES.

FINIS.

An admonition to the Christian

*Readers, inferred vpon the two
straunge Stratagems before passed.*

We may beholde (Christian Reader) with no lyttle greefe of minde the great looue of our God, and the lyttle regarde of our selues, his fatherlie motions, and in vs no signe of amendement. Referring to the innumerable examples happening not onely to our fathers, but in our tyme also, let vs onely consider these twayne, the one of an abhominable swearer, the other of a wicked woman that would not forgiue. If we consider the wickednesse of the time, growen into a contumely bothe of God and good things, we may enter into a secret conferring with our selues how, or by what meanes, we shall lay claime to the mercie of God, beeing altogether voide, and shewing no signe of humilitie, wherby we may perceiue any sorrow for our sinnes, or in vs any desire to be pardoned. We abuse his name daylie, in euery lyght and trifling matter: we goe to heare his woord rather for fashion then any affection we beare to it. Looue is exiled amongst vs, neighbourhood nothing regarded, pittie vtterly subuerted, and remorse of conscience nothing esteemed: what shall become of vs? Remember we not there is a life to come, a ioy, a blisse, a crowne of glorie? Would we be partakers thereof? No; if we would enioye that heauenlie happinesse, our life and conuersation would shewe some meanes how we seeke to deserue it. And shall we then wilfully lose it? Oh no: take holde of Faith, embrace Repentaunce, humble your soules to the throne of mercie, that albeit the Lord perceyue we are vnprofitable labourers in his Vineyard, yet that he may beholde in vs a desire, a good will, and a faithfull intention to put our selues foorth: and though sinne so greeuouslie presse vs downe, (that our weaknesse cannot resist him) yet that we are armed with Faith, and entire Hope in

that sweete sacrifice once offered vp for vs all, euen the precious body and blood of our Lord and Sauour Jesus, in his merites, to foyle our enemie, comfort our feeble soules, and with repentaunt heart enter into the bosome of rest prepared for vs since the beginning of the world. To the which that we may come and leaue this wickednesse of lyfe, assist vs, most mercifull Father, with thy continuall grace, and arme our soules with faithfull patience: so shall we triumphe ouer our foe, and reioyce in glory world without end: which God graunt vs for Christes sake.

Amen.

FINIS.

ART. X.—*The Whitefriars Theatre, the Salisbury Court Theatre, and the Duke's Theatre in Dorset Gardens.*

Three of our early theatres stood between the Thames and Fleet Street; the *first* was called the *Whitefriars Theatre*, the *second* the *Salisbury Court Theatre*, and the *third* *The Duke's Theatre, in Dorset Gardens*.

The *Whitefriars Theatre*, of which no earlier mention has been found than an incidental notice on the title-page of a play by Field, printed in 1612, and called, "Woman is a Weathercock," was the old "hall or refectorie" belonging to the dissolved Monastery of Whitefriars, and stood *within* the precinct of the monastery, and *without* the garden-wall of Salisbury House, the old inn or hostel of the Bishops of Salisbury.¹ The *Salisbury Court Theatre* was originally the "barn," or granary, at the lower end of the great back-yard or court of Salisbury House, and stood (as the indenture here first printed unquestionably proves) within the grounds of Salisbury House and Gardens; and the *Duke's Theatre, in Dorset Gardens*, stood facing the river,

¹ "And whereas the said Phillip Rossiter and the rest of his said partners have ever since trayned and practized a convenient number of children of the Revells for the purpose aforesaid in a messuage or mansion house, being percell of the late dissolved monastery called the Whitefryers, neere Fleete Streete, in London, which the said Phillip Rosseter did lately hold for terme of certeine yeres expired."—*Privy Seal of 31 May, 1616*. Collier's *Annals*, i., 397.

"The Theater is situate neer vnto the Bishopps House, and was in former times a hall or refectorie belonging to the dissolved Monastery. It hath been vsed as a place for the presentation of playes and enterludes for more than 30 yeares last by the children of her Majestie. It hath little or no furniture for a playhouse, saving an old tottered curten, some decayed benches, and a few worne out properties and peeces of Arras for hangings to the stage and tire house. The raine hath made its way in, and if it bee not repaired, it must soone be plucked downe, or it will fall."—*Survey of the Precinct of Whitefriars, made in March, 1616*. Collier's *New Facts regarding Shakespeare*, 12mo., 1835, p. 44.

at the bottom of the present Dorset Street, Strype distinctly marking the site in his map of the Ward of Farringdon Without, engraved for his edition of Stow, published in 1720. By whom the Whitefriars Theatre was erected has not as yet been discovered. The Salisbury Court Theatre was built in 1629 by Richard Gunnell and William Blagrove, players: and the Duke's Theatre, in Dorset Garden, (opened 9 November, 1671) was commenced by Sir William Davenant, and completed by his widow. It should be mentioned that Salisbury House and Dorset House were one and the same building, and that it was called Dorset House, after Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, the poet, created Earl of Dorset by King James I., to whom the property of the See of Salisbury, in Fleet Street, was conveyed, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by Jewell, Bishop of Salisbury, in exchange for certain lands near Cricklade, in Wilts.¹

"The children of the Revels to the Queen," the name by which Philip Rosseter's company of Players at the Whitefriars Theatre was known in the reign of James I., ceased to perform there some time between the years 1613 and 1616. On the 13th of July, 1613, Sir George Buc, the Master of the Revels, received £20 for "a licence to erect a new playhouse in Whitefriars;" and King James's patent to Rosseter of 31 May, 1616, particularly mentions the removal of the company to the Blackfriars. The theatre in the Whitefriars was not, I believe, rebuilt, though the case of *Trevill v. Woodford*, in the Court of Requests,² informs us that plays were performed at the Whitefriars Theatre as late as 1621; Sir Anthony Ashley, the then landlord of the house, entering the Theatre in that year, and turning the players out of doors, on pretence that half a year's rent was yet unpaid to him. The following document (our next information on the subject,

¹ Aubrey's *Lives*, ii., 335.

² *Trevill v. Woodford*, in Court of Requests, 18 Charles I.—(Documents at the Chapter House, Westminster.)

and hitherto unpublished) refers, it will be seen, to the Salisbury Court Theatre.

[*Indenture, 15th July, 1629, 5th Chas. I.*]

“*This Indenture, made the ffifteenth daie of July, in the yeare of the Raigne of or Soveraigne Lord Charles, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Kinge Defendor of the faith, &c., the ffifth Betweene John Herne, of Lincolns Inne, in the County of Midd^x, Esq^r., of th’ one part, And the right honourable Edward Earle of Dorsett, of the noble order of the Garter, Knight, and one of his Ma^{ties} most honourable privie Councell of th’ other part, Whereas, Sr Henry Compton, of Brambletie, in the County of Sussex, of the hono^{ble} order of the Bath, Knight, and Sr John Sackvill, of London, Knight, by their Indenture bearinge even date wth these p^{res}ents made betwixt the said Earle, Sr Henry Compton, and Sr John Sackvill, of th’ one partie, And the said John Herne, of th’ other partie, have, by and with the appoyntment, direction, and consent of the said Earle, for the consideracon of the some of *Nyne hundred and fiftie pounds then payd*, demised, bargained, and sould unto the said John Herne, his executors and assignes, All that soyle and grounde whereupon the Barne, at the lower end of the great Backe Court or yard of Salisbury Court now stands, and soemuch of the soyle whereupon the whole south end of the great stable in the said court or yard stands, or conteynes from that end of that stable towards the north end thereof, Sixteene foote of Assize and the whole breadth of the said stable, and all the grounde and soyle on the east and west side of that stable lyeing directly against the said Sixteene foote of grounde at the south end thereof, betweene the wall of the great Garden belonginge to the Mansion called Dorsett house and the wall that severs the said Court from the lane called Water lane, And all the grounde and soyle beinge betweene the said walles on the east and west parte thereof, and the said Barne, stable, and grounde, on both*

sides the same on the south and north parts thereof, w^{ch} said seu'all p'cells of soyle and ground therein before menconed to bee demised conteyne, in the whole in length, from the Brickwall of the said Garden, att the east thereof, to the said wall dividinge the said Court or yard from the said Lane called Water lane at the West One hundred and fforty foote of Assize; and in breadth, from the outside of the said Barne towards the south into the said stables and groundes, on both sides thereof towards the north, fforty and two foote of Assize, and lyes together att the lower end of the said Court or yard in the Parish of St Bridgett's, neere Fleet streete; and is or late was in the possession or occupacon of the said Earle or his undertennts, Together wth all such and the like liberties, licences, free ingresse, egresse, and regresse, for the said John Herne, his executors, and assignes, and all and every other p'son or p'sons, in, by, thorough, and on anie part of the Court called Salisbury Court, and also anie the utter Courts belonging to the said Mansion House called Dorsett house, in, by, and through all and every the gates, wayes, entryes, and passages, there comonly nowe used, or w^{ch}, att anie tyme hereafter, shalbee made or comonly used dureinge the terme thereby granted as were together, wth the demised and bargained p'misses unto *Richard Gunnell*¹ and *Will'm Blagrove*,² by and from the said Sr Henry Compton and Sr John Sackvill, by Indenture dated the *sixt daye of this instant July*; And also all other the groundes, soyle, liberties, lycences, and p'viledges demised unto the said Richard Gunnell and Will'm Blagrove, their executors, and assignes,

¹ Richard Gunnell was constituted one of the Elector Palatine's Servants by Privy Seal of the 4th January, 1612-13; the Elector's Servants were then acting at the Fortune Theatre, in Golden Lane. Richard Gunnell was one of the Company when the Fortune was burnt down in December, 1621. See Collier's *Annals*, i., 382 and 427.

² The Blagrove family were connected, for nearly a century, with Court entertainments. Thomas Blagrove was Master of the Revels in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. William Blagrove was Master of the

in and by the said Indenture; And also the revercon and revercons of all and singuler the p'misses and all the rents and profitts incident or belonginge thereunto, *To have and to hould* the same for the terme of *Threescore and One yeares* from the *eight* daye of July last past, under the rent of a peppercorne. *Nowe, this* Indenture witnesseth That it is condescended, concluded, and agreed unto by and betweene the parties to these p'sents; *And the said* John Herne doth, for himselfe, his executors, administrators, and assignes, and for every of them, covenante, promise, and graunte to and wth the said Earle, his heires and assignes, that if the said

Children of the Revels in the reign of Charles I., and Richard and Thomas Blagrove were successively of the King's band of Musicians for the wind instruments.

The following documents, connected with the Blagrove family, will not be out of place in a volume of miscellaneous communications:—

[*Audit Office Enrolments—Temp. Car. I., vol. A.*]

The nuncupative will of Richard Blagraue, of Woking, in the County of Surrey, gent., late one of the Musicians for the Winde Instruments, which he spake and uttered in the beginning of December, or aboute that time, An^o D'ni, 1641, was here shewen, whereby it appeereth that he made Ann, his wife, sole executrix of this his said will, w^{ch} was proved the xvth day February, 1641 [*i.e.* 1641-2].

[*Audit Office Enrol., vol. iv., p. 399.*]

Charles, by the Grace of God, &c. Whereas wee haue appointed Thomas Blagraue to be one of our Musicians for the wind instruments in ordinary in the place of his father Richard Blagrove deceased: And are pleased to allow unto him the sune of xx^d per diem as wages, and sixteene pounds twoe shillings and sixpence per ann.: as Liuary being the enterteynem^t which the said Richard Blagraue had and enioyed. Wee doe hereby will and comaund you, out of our treasure, to paye or cause to bee paid to the said Thomas Blagrove or his assignes the said sums quarterly, at the foure usuall feasts in the yeare. The first payment thereof to commence from the feast of the Birth of our Lord God last past before the date of these presents. And these our L[']res shalbee your sufficient warr^t and discharge in that behalfe. Giuen under our signett, at o'r Manno^r of Yorke, the nineteenth day of Aprill, in the xvijth year of our raigne [1642].—*Ex. p. Warwick.*

Earle, his heires, executors, administrators, or assignes, or anie of them shall paye or cause to bee payd unto the sayd John Herne, his executors, administrators, and assignes, on the *sixteenth daye of July*, w^{ch} shalbee in the yeare of o^r *Lord God One Thowsand Six hundred Thirtie and Foure*, att the Comon dynynge hall, in Lincolnes Inne aforesaid, att one whole and entier payement, soemuch good and lawfull English monie as shall make up and satisfie the said some of Nyne hundred and fiftie Pounds payd for the consideracon of the said recited demise, bargaine, and sale of what shall want and bee unpaid and receyved of the said Nyne hundred and fiftie pounds, by p^rceipt of such somes of money as shall have beene then received by the said John Herne, his executors, or assignes, of the rents, issues, and profitts of the said recited p^rmisses the respectyve Interest for the said money, from tyme to tyme, computed from the severall and respectyve receipts of the said rents thereout first deducted, allowed, or defalked to the said John Herne, his executors or assignes; That then hee, the said John Herne, his executors or assignes, shall and will, att all tymes after the said payment att the reasonable request and att the costs and charges in the lawe of the said Earle, his heires, or assignes, redemise, surrender, or otherwise convey and reasssure the said demised p^rmisses, and every part and parcell thereof unto the said S^r Henry Compton and S^r John Sackvill, or unto the said Earle, or unto anie other p^rson or p^rsons whome the said Earle, his heires or assignes, shall nominate or appoynte, and in such reasonable manner and forme as the said Earle, his heires or assignes, or his or their Councill, learned in the Lawes, shall reasonable advise, devise, or require; And shall then also, upon such like reasonable request, deliver up unto the said Earle, his heires or assignes, all the writeinges and evidences toucheing the recited p^rmisses, or anie part thereof, safe uncanceled and undefaced. *In Witnesse* whereof the p^rties first above named

have, to these p^rsent Indentures, interchangeablie putte their hands and seals the daye and yeare first above written, *Annoq Dⁿi*, 1629.

*E Dorset*¹

The preceding document most unquestionably refers to the *first* Salisbury Court Theatre. The date of the Indenture is the 15th July, 1629; and Howes, in his continuation of Stow, observes that, "In the yeere one thousand sixe hundred and twenty nine, there was builded a new faire playhouse, neere the White-Fryers."²

John Herne, of Lincoln's Inn, to whom the Earl of Dorset, by the preceding indenture, granted the lease of a portion of his ground attached to Dorset House, seems to have leased his right to Richard Heton, one of the sewers of the chamber to Henrietta Maria, queen of Charles I. The following "Instructions" (now printed for the first time) are endorsed "Mr. Heten's Paper."

Instructions for my Pattent.

That the Pattent for electing her M^{ts} Company of Comedians be graunted only to my selfe, that I may alwaies haue a Company in readines at Salisberry Cort for her M^{ts} service, and that if all or any of the Company goe away from Salisberry Cort, to play at any other Playhouse already built or hereafter to be built, they from thenceforth to cease to be her M^{ts} servants, and only the Company remayning there to have that hono^r and tytyle. My selfe to be sole governo^r of the Company. The Company to enter into Articles wth me to continew there for 7 yeares, upon the same condicons they

¹ This was the Sir Edward Sackville, afterwards fourth Earl of Dorset, (d. 1652) who fought the famous duel with Lord Edward Bruce. He was the grandson of the first Earl of Dorset, (the poet) and the grandfather of the sixth Earl of Dorset, (the poet).

² Howes, ed. 1631, p. 1004.

haue had for a yeare and halfe last past, and such as refuse to be removed, and others placed in their roomes; for if they should continew at libertie as they now are, and haue power to take her M^{ts} service alonge wth them, they wold make use of o^r house but untill they could p^vvyde another upon better termes, and then leave us as in one yeare and halfe of their being here they haue many tymes threatned, when they might not exact any new imposicons upon the housekeepers at their pleasure. And some of them have treated upon Con- dicons for the Cockpit playhouse, some gone about to begge o^r house from the King, and one now of the cheife fellowes, an Agent for one that hath gott a grant from the King,¹ for the building of a new playhouse w^{ch} was intended to be in Fleet Street, w^{ch} noe man can judge that a fellow of o^r Com- pany, and a wellwisher to those that owe the house, would ev^r be an actor in.

When her M^{ts} servants were at the Cockpitt, beinge all at liberty, they disperst themselves to severall Companies, soe that had not my lo: of Dorsett taken care to make up a new Company for the Queene, she had not had any at all.

How much I haue done for the uphoulding of this Com- pany, I gave you some p^ticulers of in a peticon to my lo: of Dorsett.

And wheras my lo: of Dorsett had gotten for a former Company at Salisberry Co^t the Princes service,² they being

¹ Heton refers to the Patent of the 26th March, 1638-9, granted to Sir William Davenant, for the erection of a new theatre within the bound- ary of the city of London, upon a piece of ground lying at the back of the Three King's Ordinary, in Fleet Street, in the parish of St. Dunstan's in the West, or in the parish of St. Bride's, or on "any other ground in or about that place."—(Collier, ii., 90.) The patent was subsequently withdrawn, and Davenant yielded his right into the hands of the Crown by an indenture dated 2nd October, 1639. See the indenture in Chalmers' *Sup. Apol.*, p. 188, from the original in the possession of Craven Ord.

² Prince Charles, afterwards Charles II., was born 29th May, 1630, and the players at the Theatre in Salisbury Court were called the Prince's

left at liberty, took their opportunity of another house, and left the house in Salisbury Court destitute both of a service and Company.

This settling of the service and Company upon condicions certaine, and of a knowne governor, would be the occasion to avoyd many differences and disturbances that hapen both betwene the Company and housekeepers, amongst the Company themselves, and many generall discontents — to the great credit of the house, and p'fitt of the Company.

RICHARD HETON,¹

One of the Sewers of her M^{ts} Chamber Extraord:

The following paper (also new to the history of our stage) relates to the same patent.

*Heton's draught of his pattent.*²

Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., To all mayors, sheriffs, justices of the peace, bayliffs, constables, headborrowes, and all other his M^{ts} officers, ministers, and loving subjects, to whom these p^rsents shall come, greetinge. Whereas o^r servant, Richard Heton, one of the Sewers of the Chamber to o^r deare Consort, the Queene, hath disbursed great somes of money in provyding a convenient Playhouse in Dorset house yard for her M^{ts} Comedians to practise and act Playes in, that they may be there resident and in readines

Servants, when Marmyon's "Holland's Leaguer" was acted at that theatre "by the Servants of Prince Charles," in December, 1631. Heton here tells us by whose influence they acquired their new distinction.

¹ Chalmers discovered, in the books of the Lord Chamberlain's Office, the entry of a warrant, dated 8th February, 1636-7, for the payment of £50 to Richard Heton, "for himself and the rest of the Company of the players at Salesbury Court, for 3 Plays acted by them before his Majesty in October and February, 1635; viz., Two at £20 a piece, being at Hampton Court; the other at £10, being at St. James." — Chalmers' *Apology*, p. 509.

² This is the endorsement.

for the said service when they shalbe comanded, and hath lykewise disbursed good somes of money for the maintayning and supporting the said Actors in the sicknes tyme, and other wayes to keepe the said Company together, wthout w^{ch} a great part of them had not bene able to subsist, but the Company had bene utterly ruyned and dispersed. And whereas, upon every smale occasion, for their owne benefite companies of Actors have removed from their residence, and dispersed themselves into severall places, soe that noe certaine place of abode is knowne where they may be found when We are pleased to comand their attendance for o^r owne or o^r deare Consort's solace, pleasure, and disport. Now, know yee that We, of o^r especiall grace, certaine knowlege, and meere mocon, haue lycensed and aucthorized, and by these o^r l^res patent doe lycence and aucthorize o^r said servant Richard Heton, or his assignes, from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes hereafter to select, order, direct, sett up, and governe a company of Comedians in the said private house in Dorset house yard, for y^e service of o^r deare Consort the queene, and there to exercise their quality of playinge Comedies, Tragedies, Histories, Pastoralls, Maskes, Enterludes, Moralls, Stageplayes, and such lyke, what they have already studyed, or hereafter shall study or cause to be studyed, as well for the solace and pleasure of o^r deare Consort, the Queene, and of o^r selfe, when We shall think fit to see them, as the recreacon of o^r louing subiects. And the said Comedies, Tragedies, Histories, Pastoralls, Maskes, Enterludes, Morralls, Stageplayes, and such like, to shew, act, and exercise, to their best p^rfitt and comodity, as well wthin their foresaid playhouse in Dorset house yard, as in any city, university, towne, or borough of o^r said realmes and dominions, there to sojourne and abide, if at any tyme they wth their Company and Associates (whom o^r said servant Richard Heton shall thinke fitting to select) shall have occasion (by reason of sicknes in London or otherwise) to travell, to exercise publikely, to their best

pr^fitt, comodity, and advantage, their aforesaid Comodies, Tragedies, &c., at all tyme or tymes, (the tyme of Divine service only excepted) before or after supper, wthin any townehalls, guildhalls, moothalls, schoolehouses, or any other convenient places whatsoever. And the same Comedyes, Tragedyes, &c., wth the tymes they are to be acted, to proclayme in such places as afores'd wth drums, trumpetts, and by publike bills, if they thinke fitt, Notwithstanding any statute, act, proclamacon, pr^vision, restraint, or matter whatsoever to the contrary.

My Intencon for the rest.

That such of the company as will not be ordered and governed by me as of their governor, or shall not by the M^r of his M^{ts} Revells and my selfe bee thought fitt Comedians for her M^{ts} service, I may have power to discharge from the Company, and, wth the advice of the M^r of the Revells, to putt new ones in their places; and those who shalbe soe discharged not to have the honor to be her M^{ts} servants, but only those who shall continew at the aforesaid playhouse. And the said Company not to play at any tyme in any other place but the forsaid playhouse without my consent under my hand in wryting, (lest his M^{ts} service might be neglected) except by speciall comand from one of the Lo. Chamberlaines, or the M^r of his M^{ts} Revells, &c.

The short memorandum subjoined was found with the preceding documents.

INSTRUCTIONS TOUCHING SALESBERY CO^{RT} PLAYHOUSE,
14 SEPTEM., 1639.¹

The diffrence betwixt the first Articles and the last.

The housekeep^s enioy not any one Benefit in the last w^{ch} they had not in the first.

And they paid only by the first.

¹ This is the endorsement. There is no title.

1, All Repaires of the house.

2, Halfe the gathering plaçs.

Halfe to the Sweepers of the house, the stagekeep^s, to the Poor, and for carying away the soyle.

By the last Articles.

We first allow them a Roome or 2 more then they form^{ly} had.

All that was allowed by the former Articles, and Halfe the Poets wages w^{ch} is 10^s a week.

Halfe the lycencing of every new play w^{ch} halfe is also xx^s.

And one dayes p^ffitt wholly to themselves every yeare in consideration of their want of stooles on the stage, w^{ch} were taken away by his M^{ts} comand.

We allow them also that was in noe Articles.

Halfe for lights, both waxe and Tallow, w^{ch} halfe all winter is near 5^s a day.

Halfe for coles to all the Roomes.

Halfe for rushes, flowers, and stowings on the stage.

Halfe for all the boyes' new gloves at every new play, and every revived play not lately plaid.

All the rest of the Articles are some indifferent Rules fitt to be observed for the generall creditt of the house and benefitt of both Housekeep^s and Players.

The lease reverting to Herne before the theatres were suppressed, (but by what means I am not aware) a deed of sale was drawn, in 1649, with William Beeston, the player,¹ (then residing in St. Giles-in-the-Fields) for £600, and on

¹ William Beeston was, I believe, the son of Christopher Beeston, the player. Mr. Collier thinks he was the brother; but this, I think, is unlikely, as Christopher Beeston had a part in Ben Jonson's "Every Man in his Humour" as early as 1598. William Beeston was Governor, in

the 25th March, 1652, with Theophilus Bird, the player,¹ (then residing in the same parish) for £408. The indenture made by Bird, for and in behalf of William Beeston, is signed

Theophilus Bird

which the other is not. The draft of Beeston's agreement (now before me) is dated 1649; and Howes records, in his MS. continuation of Stow, that "The playhouse in Salisbury Court, in Fleete Streete, was pulled down by a company of souldiers, set on by the sectaries of these sad times, on Saturday, the 24th day of March, 1649."² There was perhaps good reason for Beeston's retiring from the purchase. It will be seen, however, from the following document, which is also new to our dramatic history, that Beeston became the proprietor in the year 1652; that the theatre was rebuilt by him a little before the Restoration; that he had mortgaged it to the builders; that it was standing at the time of the Great Fire, and was then destroyed; that he was willing to rebuild it, but that his claim to the lease was set aside, on his apparent inability to build, and the willingness of the mortgagees to forego the debt that was due to them, on the surrender of his lease.

1639, of the King's and Queen's young company of Players, at the Cockpit, in Drury Lane, and is commended by Francis Kirkman, in a printed dedication, as the happiest interpreter and judge of our English stage plays.

¹ Theophilus Bird wrote the Prologue to "The Ladys Trial" (1638); also the Prologue to "The Witch of Edmonton" (1658); both signed Master Bird. The Dedication of "The Sun's Darling" (1657) is signed by Theophilus Bird and Andrew Pennycuicke. (See Ford by Gifford, vol. ii., pp. 253, 363, 441.) Bird is the last of the ten players signing the Dedication of the first folio of Beaumont and Fletcher (1647). He died in 1660, or 1661, at the latest.—See Chalmers's *Apology*, i., 529.

² Collier's *Life of Shakespeare*, p. cxxlii.

[*Additional MS., Brit. Mus., No. 5064, fol. 225.*]

“Mr. Justice Tyrrill,
Mr. Justice Wyndham, } prsent.
Mr. Justice Archer,

“At the Court of Judicature for determination of differences touching houses burned or demolished by reason of the late fire which happened in London, held in Clifford's Inne Hall, on Tuesday, the second day of July, in the nineteenth yeare of the Reigne of King Charles the Second, Annoj. Dni. 1667.

“Edward Fisher and Thomas Silver, pet^{rs} agst William Beeston, and the right Hon^{ble} Richard Earl of Dorset, agst the said William Beeston, Thomas Silver, and Edward Fisher.

“Whereas, the said Edward Fisher and Thomas Silver exhibited their petition into this Court, thereby setting forth that the Right Hon^{ble} Edward, late Earl of Dorset, and his Trustees, by Indenture dated the sixth day of July, [1629] in the fifth year of the reign of the late King Charles the First, in consideration that Richard Gunnell and William Blagrove should at their costs and charges erect a playhouse and other buildings at the lower end of Salisbury Court, in the parish of St. Bridget, in the ward of Farringdon Without, did demise to the said Gunnell and Blagrove a piece of ground at the same lower end of Salisbury Court, containing one hundred and forty foot in length, and forty-two in breadth, To hold to the said Gunnell and Blagrove, their executors and assigns, from thenceforth for forty-one years and a half, paying therefore to the said Trustees, or the survivors of them, twenty and five pounds for the first half year, and one hundred pounds per annum for the remainder of the term, by quarterly payments; That the said late Earl and his Trustees, by indenture dated the fifteenth day of the said July, [1629] in the said fifth year of the same late King, in consideration

of nine hundred and fifty pounds paid to the said late Earl by John Herne, of Lincoln's Inn, Esquire, did demise to him the said piece of ground and building thereupon to be erected, and the rent reserved upon the said lease made to Gunnell and Blagrove, To hold to the said John Herne, or his assigns, from the eighth day of the said July, for sixty and one years, at the yearly rent of a peppercorn. That John Herne, son and executor of the said John Herne, by Indenture dated the five and twentieth day of May, 1652, for £408, to him paid by Theophilus Bird, did assign the premises and all his estate therein, in trust for the said William Beeston. That the said Beeston, by articles of agreement indented dated the 5th day of April, 1660, did contract and agree with the petitioners for the rebuilding the premises, and to secure the petitioners' charges to be by them laid out upon the same, with interest, by Indenture dated the said 5th day of April, mortgaged the same to the petitioners Fisher and Silver, which mortgage became forfeited many years since. That the said petitioners expended in the said work £329. 9. 4, of which by several small fragments in three years time £100 were paid to the petitioners. And that for the residue and interest the petitioners lessees in Michaelmas term, in the fourteenth year of his now Majesty's reign, obtained a judgment for the mortgaged premises. That all the said mortgaged premises by the late dreadful fire in London were totally burned down and consumed. That the petitioners being willing to rebuild the same piece of ground, or to promote the building thereof in tenements, had treated with the said William Beeston to pay off the pet^{rs}, or to take his legal content, but could prevail nothing, whereby the building was obstructed; And therefore, the said Fisher and Silver prayed a summons to warn the said William Beeston to appear in this court, that the pet^{rs} might be relieved in the premises according to equity and good conscience, which were granted accordingly.

“ And whereas the said Right Hon^{ble} Richard, now Earl of Dorset, did afterwards exhibit his complaint into this Court in the nature and form of a petition, thereby setting forth that in the fourth year of the reign of King Charles I. the said Edward Earl of Dorset, Sir George Rivers, Richard Amherst, and Edward Lyndsey, demised Dorset House, in the said parish of St. Bridget, alias St. Bride’s, London, unto one George Strood, Esq., To hold from the 14th day of December, for ninety and nine years, at the yearly rent of a peppercorn, with a proviso that if the said Earl Rivers and Amherst, or any of them, paid £1560 to the said George Strood, upon the 14th of December then next following, the said demise to be void. That the 9th of May, in the fifth year of the said late king, the said George Strood, in consideration of £1600 in hand paid by consent of the said late Earl and of the said Sr George Rivers, Richard Amherst, and Edward Lindsey, testified by their hands, subscribed under a memorandum indorsed upon the deed of assignment, did assign the said lease unto Sir John Backhouse and Nicholas Downes, To hold for the residue of the said term of ninety and nine years granted to the said Strood. That the 12th of May, in the fifth year of the reign of the said late King, the said Sir George Rivers, Richard Amherst, and Edward Lindsey, in consideration of £4000 by deed enrolled in the Common Bench at Westminster, did bargain and sell to Sir Henry Compton and Sir John Sackville the manor of Dorset House, with the appurtenances, and quit rents, and court leets, and the great barn, which was afterwards the Play House; To hold to the said Sr Henry Compton and Sir John Sackville and their heirs for ever. That by Indenture tripartite, dated the 16th day of the said month of May, between the said late Earl, Sir Harry Compton, and Sir John Sackville, of the first part, Sir Francis Englefield, and Henry Curzon, Esq., of the second part, and Edward Edwards and John White, Esq., of the third part, reciting the former

deed dated the said twelfth day of May, did convey the premises to the said Edward Edwards and John White, and other heirs, To the use of the said late Earl and his Lady, for their lives, and after to the said Complainant in taylor, with a power for the said late Earl and his lady to make leases for one and twenty years, or three lives. That the 15th day of July, [1629] in the said fifth year of the said late King, the said late Earl, Sir Henry Compton, and Sir John Sackville, for £950 demised to the said John Herne all the soil and ground whereupon the said barn, at the lower end of the great back court of Salisbury Court, then stood, with all advantages granted to the before named Richard Gunnell and William Blagrove, who built the playhouse, whereupon £100 rent was reserved the sixth day of July before, which £100, with the original lease, was transferred to the said John Herne for one and twenty years. And after the soil and Play House itself for forty years after, which made up sixty-one years in the whole. That the said William Herne's lease by means conveyances came unto the aforesaid William Beeston about the year 1647, who had by that lease sixteen years to come. And then the said Beeston mortgaged the premises to the said Silver and Fisher. That although the said Lease was made to the prejudice of the said now Earl, who conceives it to be void, because the aforesaid George Strood was no party to the said Mr. Herne's lease, And also because the pet^r further was but tenant for life, and had no power to make leases for above one and twenty years, or three lives. Yet the said now Earl was not willing, whilst the premises were of value, to question his father's actions, although Mr. Herne had a great bargain of one hundred pounds a year for one and twenty years, and afterwards for forty years, for £950; yet being demolished by the late dreadful Fire, the said now Earl was willing to build, notwithstanding the strictness of covenants upon the said Beeston. And, therefore, the said now Earl prayed a summons

to warn the said Beeston, Silver, and Fisher, to appear here in this Court, that they may be ordered to surrender their lease and mortgage, in case they appear not fit to build upon such terms as the Court should judge to stand with equity and good conscience, which was granted.

“And forasmuch as the Court was informed that both the petitions were concerning the rebuilding upon the same piece of ground, It was formerly directed by the Court that the said summons be made returnable on the same day whereon the summons is awarded against the said William Beeston, upon the petition of the said Fisher and Silver, which was done accordingly. And all the said parties having been duly summoned, did appear in Court this day. And it appearing to the Court that the matter of both the said petitions was in effect the same as to the determination of this Court, Both the said causes were heard as one entire matter. And in the first place, it was controverted between the said Fisher and Silver and the said Beeston, concerning the mortgage, the said Beeston alleging that their Carpenters Bills for the work they did for him is over-charged, and the materials were over-priced, and that in a conscientious way there is but £100 due to the said Fisher and Silver, upon their mortgage, which he said he would pay to redeem the said mortgage; and he desired to be the builder, if he might have encouragement. But the said Fisher and Silver denied any exaction upon the petition, and alleged that they, being tradesmen, were much damnified for want of their money, And that they were in possession before and at the time of the Fire, by judgment at law, and that there was a suit depending in the High Court of Chancery concerning the equity of redemption, which is the proper court for determination thereof. And, therefore, they prayed to be admitted to build, upon reasonable encouragement. And it was informed by the said Fisher and Silver unto the Court that the building would cost £1000, and that the said Beeston was not in a condition to under-

take the charge of it, but that the building was most proper to be undertaken by the said Fisher and Silver, who were able men and artificers in the chiefest part of the building, and more skilful in all other parts of it than the said Beeston. And it being further informed to the Court, by the oath of William Angel, a scrivener, that the said Beeston had offered to release his right of redemption to have his said debt remitted, And the said Fisher and Silver offering in Court to remit their debt due upon the said mortgage, so as they might have the said Beeston's interest, and be admitted to build. And the said Earl of Dorset being present in Court, declared himself better content to have the said Fisher and Silver his tenants than the said Beeston.

“Whereupon it was declared by the Court to be fit that Beeston's estate be quite set aside, and that his estate and term of years claimed by him, by pretext of the aforesaid lease, cease and be void. And thereupon, for promoting the building upon the said ground, the Court decreed his Lordship, the said now Earl of Dorset, to propound what terms he would be pleased to grant the said Fisher and Silver, to encourage them to rebuild the same. After several proposals made and treated upon, concerning the same, the result of all was, That the said Earl would make up the term in being sixty years, at the yearly rent of a peppercorn, during the residue and remainder of the said term of 61 years unexpired, and after the expiration of the said lease and term of years, at the yearly rent of £40, during the remainder of the said term of 60 years thereby added. Therefore, to the intent that the rebuilding upon the said ground may not be obstructed, but be effectually proceeded in by the said Fisher and Silver, upon the said terms, and for a final detention of all differences between the parties touching the same, It is ordered, adjudged, and decreed by Court, that the said Edward Fisher and Thomas Silver be the builders upon the said ground, and that the interest of the said lease, for the residue of the said terme of sixty one years

to come and unexpired, shall be and remain unto the said Fisher and Silver, their executors, administrators, and assigns, and that the interest therein claimed by the said Beeston be void, null, and of none effect unto him. And that, upon the surrender of the said lease, the said Earl of Dorset, upon the reasonable request, and at the cost and charges of the said Fisher and Silver, seal and deliver as his act and deed unto them, the said Edward Fisher and Thomas Silver, a good and sufficient new lease of the said formerly demised Toft soil and ground for rebuilding thereupon, To hold from the eighth day of this present July [1667] aforesaid, until the full end and term of sixty years then next following, at and under the yearly rent of a peppercorn, for so many years thereof as by computation are to come in the said lease to be surrendered, which by effluention of time would end and determine upon the eighth day of July, which shall year of our Lord 1690, and for and during the residue of the term in the said new lease to be made, the yearly rent or sum of £40, of lawful money of England, to be quarterly paid at the four most usual days of payment in the year, by equal portions, with proper and suitable covenants therein to be contained, concerning the said building, and with such covenants and clauses therein as in the said lease to be surrendered are comprised. Which said lease the said Fisher and Silver shall accept and duly seal and deliver to the said Earl, or to his use a counterpart of the same. And lastly, it is ordered and decreed that the said Fisher and Silver, or one of them, shall, with all convenient speed after the making of the said new lease, cause to be erected in and upon the Toft soil and ground demised unto them new messuages or tenements, with substantial materials and in such manner as by the late Act of Parliament for the rebuilding of the city of London it is directed and appointed.

“THO. TYRRILL.
W^{AM} WYNDHAM.
JO. ARCHER.”

It will be seen, from the foregoing document, that Beeston's agreement for the rebuilding of Salisbury Court Theatre was dated the 5th of April, 1660, exactly twenty days before Charles II. landed at Dover. The Theatre seems to have been very quickly rebuilt, (it was probably of wood) and was opened, there is reason to believe, (perhaps with Tatham's comedy of "The Rump") as early as June, 1660.¹ It was taken the same year by Sir William Davenant,² but upon what terms is not stated. Davenant remained here till his removal to Lincoln's Inn Fields, in 1662. I have already mentioned the return of the Duke's Company, acting under Davenant's patent, to a new theatre in this old locality, on the 9th of November, 1671; and I need, therefore, only add that this, the third theatre between Fleet Street and the Thames, was left by the Duke's Company in the year 1682; that it was subsequently let to wrestlers, fencers, and exhibitors of every description; that it was standing in 1720, when Strype published his continuation of Stow, but was shortly after taken down, and the site on which it stood transformed into a wood-yard. Of the front, towards the river, there is a view before Settle's "Empress of Morocco," 4to. 1673.

PETER CUNNINGHAM.

Kensington, January 12, 1849.

¹ See the draft of Sir Henry Herbert's license to Beeston to continue the house called Salisbury Court Playhouse as a Playhouse, printed in Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, iii., 243. Malone assigns it to June, 1660, and properly, as I think, though Mr. Collier, generally a safer authority than Malone, assigns it to a period twenty years earlier (Annals, ii., 102). It is clear, however, that all the documents printed in Malone, from p. 242, refer to Herbert's loss of power at the Restoration.

² See Articles of Agreement Tripartite, dated 5th November, 1660, in Malone's Shak. by Boswell, iii., 257.

ART. XI.—*The Players who acted in "The Shoemakers' Holiday," 1600, a Comedy by Thomas Dekker and Robert Wilson.*

At p. 154 of "Henslowe's Diary," edited by the Director of our Society, I find an entry of "a Booke of Thomas Dickers called the gentle craft," for which he was paid £3. The date is 15 July, 1559, and, as Mr. Collier informs us in a note, this "book" must have been the play printed anonymously in 1600 under the title of "The Shoemakers' Holiday, or the Gentle Craft." On the authority of Henslowe, this production is therefore assigned to Thomas Dekker, and I cannot discover from the "Diary" that any other dramatist was concerned with Dekker; yet £3 seems to have been a small sum for a new play, even at the then rate of payment, when from £6 to £10 were not unfrequently given. The fact is, as I shall proceed to show presently, that another poet was a partner with Dekker in the piece, and probably in the payment, though his name in that capacity is not inserted by Henslowe: nevertheless, it often occurs in the "Diary," but not, in this instance, as Dekker's coadjutor. The poet I allude to was a man who, like not a few others at that day, was a dramatist as well as a performer—I mean, Robert Wilson; by whom a play, under the title of "The Cobbler's Prophecy," printed in 1594, has come down to us. I have a copy of it now before me, and "Written by Robert Wilson, Gent." is at full length upon the title-page.

With regard to "The Shoemakers' Holiday, or the Gentle Craft," the *Biographia Dramatica* makes some (even for it) remarkably stupid blunders: in one place, under the head of "The Gentle Craft," it asserts that the play is "not now in existence," while, under the head of "The Shoemakers' Holiday," it gives part of the title with tolerable correctness, but adds that the authorship of it had been "attributed to Dr. Barton Holiday;" the absurd mistake having no doubt origi-

nated in the word “Holiday”—“Shoemakers’ Holiday,” and Barton Holiday. I may be allowed to remark, by the way, that it is a great pity that our Society does not put forth a new and correct edition of this necessary but most inaccurate book, bringing down the information to the period of the suppression of the stage in 1647. We should thus have some reliable authority to go to respecting our early and Shakesperian drama: and as for the rest, from the reign of Charles II. downwards, it may be very well left to take care of itself, at least, for the present.

My reason for stating that Robert Wilson, as well as Thomas Dekker, was engaged upon “The Shoemakers’ Holiday” is, that a friend of mine, who really does not know the value of it, but who, at the same time, is unwilling to part with it, has a copy (in a tattered condition, I am sorry to say) with the names of the two dramatists at the end of the preliminary address. These names are not printed, but they have been added in manuscript in a handwriting coeval, I think, with the date of publication, but, at all events, very little posterior to it; moreover, (and this is quite as curious, though, perhaps, not quite as important) with the names of the actors against all the principal parts, as they were sustained when the comedy was first brought out. These are not made to precede the play in a regular list of the *dramatis personæ*, as has been usual since the Restoration, but they are inserted in the margin as the piece proceeds, and as the different performers enter. The following is the preliminary address to which the names of the authors are subscribed.

“To all good Fellowes, Professors of the Gentle Craft, of what degree soever.

“Kinde Gentlemen and honest boone companions, I present you here with a merrie conceited comedie, called *the Shoomakers’ Holyday*, acted by my Lorde Admirall’s Players this present Christmasse before the Queene’s most excellent

Majestie. For the mirth and pleasant matter, by her Highnesse graciously accepted; being indeede no way offensive. The Argument of the play I will set downe in this Epistle; Sir Hugh Lacie, Earle of Lincolne, had a yong Gentleman of his owne name, his neere kinsman, that loved the Lorde Maiors daughter of London; to prevent and crosse which love the Earle caused his kinsman to be sent Coronell of a companie into France, who resigned his place to another Gentleman, his friend, and came, disguised like a Dutch Shoomaker, to the house of Symon Eyre, in Tower Streete, who served the Maior and his household with shooes. The merri-ments that passed in Eyre's house, his comming to be Maior of London, Lacie's getting his love, and other accidents, with two merry Three-men's songs. Take all in good worth that is well intended; for nothing is purposed but mirth: mirth lengtheneth long life, which, with all other blessings, I heartily wish you. Farewell.

“T. DEKKER.

“R. WILSON.”

It is evident that either this address was meant to come, as in some other cases, from the printer, or that it was not intended, or perhaps thought worth while, to let the reader know that more than one author had been concerned in the comedy. Neither of them acknowledged it in print; but the early owner of this copy, learning in some way that it had been written by Dekker and Wilson, wrote their names at the end of the above dedication, if such it may be called.

If farther reference be made to “Henslowe's Diary,” it will be seen (p. 153) that the old manager inserts “The Gentle Craft,” as one of the dramas for the purchase of which he had “laid out” money for “my lord of Notingame men, frome the 26 of maye, 1599,” and the title-page of “the Shoemakers' Holiday, or the Gentle Craft,” states that it was printed “as it was acted before the Queene's most excellent Maiestie, on

New-yeare's day at night last, by the right honourable the Earle of Nottingham, Lord High Admirall of England, his servants." I am thus particular, not merely because this quotation proves that it is the same play as that entered by Henslowe, but because it is so rare, that I have not anywhere met with any account of it, much less a correct one: for this reason I here subjoin also the imprint from my friend's copy, the title-page of which is preserved, though much torn:—"Printed by Valentine Sims dwelling at the foote of Adling hill, neere Bainard's Castle, at the signe of the White Swanne, and are there to be sold. 1600."

Now, who were the members of the theatrical association called "the Earl of Nottingham's servants" in 1600, when this play was printed, in consequence, doubtless, of its great popularity, which had induced the authorities in such matters to select it for representation before the Queen on New Years' day at night? We have the names of the leading actors in "Henslowe's Diary," (p. 172) and with their own signatures, in the following order, under date of 10 July, 1600.

"J. Singer.
Thomas Downton.
Humfry Jeffes.
Charles Massye.
Samuell Rowlye.
Robert Shaa.
Thomas Towne.
W. Birde.
Richard Jones.
Edward Juby."

We may be warranted, I think, in concluding that these were then the "sharers" of the company, for they acknowledge themselves responsible to Henslowe for the debt of £300 due to him for advances. We shall see presently that

all these, and some others, for the characters in the comedy are numerous, figured in "The Shoemakers' Holiday;" and we shall see also, by the parts they sustained, the sort of persons for the representation of whom it was thought their talents peculiarly adapted them. It should here be mentioned that the piece is one of great bustle and variety, and that serious as well as comic actors were required for it, although the latter are more prominent and attractive than the former. I have extracted the names of the characters, and I have placed after them, in the intelligible fashion of a modern play-bill, the names of the different actors, showing precisely the parts they filled.

King of England	Jones.
Nobleman, his attendant	H. Jeffes.
Earl of Lincoln	Rowley.
Lord Mayor of London	Shawe.
Rowland Lacy	Massy.
Simon Eyre, Shoemaker	Downton.
Hodge, his foreman	Singer.
Firke, his man	Wilson.
Ralph, a soldier	Jewby.
Hammond, a city merchant	Towne.
Warner, his friend	Flower.
Scott, friend to the Lord Mayor	Price.
Askew, friend to Lacy	A. Jeffes.
Dodger, the Earl of Lincoln's man	Jones.
Lovell, an officer	Day.
Dame Eyre	Birde.
Jane, wife to Ralphe	H. Jeffes.
Rose, daughter to the Lord mayor	Downton's boy, Ned.
Sibill, servant to Rose	Alleine.

There are other characters in the comedy, but these are

undoubtedly the principal; and in some parts of the performance the stage must have been occupied by recruits pressed for the wars in France, by shoemakers, morris-dancers, and apprentices, probably as many as the company could afford in the way of supernumeraries. It is to be remarked that, in the preceding *cast* (as we now call it) of "The Shoemakers' Holiday," we meet with two or three names (they are all here spelt exactly as they stand in my friend's ancient copy) not heard of before, at least in connexion with the company of Lord Nottingham's players. We may reasonably suppose that these were only hired men, or "hirelings," whose aid might be occasionally required, and who were not paid in proportion to the amount taken from persons entering the theatre, which was the mode in which the regular sharers were remunerated. Flower is not mentioned anywhere as an actor, that I recollect; and I do not trace his name in Mr. Collier's "History of the Stage," unless he were the same Francis Flower who was concerned in writing and getting up "The Misfortunes of Arthur," a tragedy, represented before Queen Elizabeth, in 1587. This I do not think likely, for reasons I may assign in a subsequent paper, when I have put together some materials I have procured for a separate account of this very noticeable performance, in which, as Mr. Collier proved, some twenty years ago, no less a man than Lord Chancellor Bacon was engaged, although the fact has not since attracted the attention it deserves. Day might be either John Day, the dramatist, or his son; and Price was doubtless the same actor who is afterwards found mentioned in the Household-book of Prince Henry, as one of his theatrical retainers.—(Hist. Engl. Dram. Poetry, i., 351.)

Wilson merits more particular notice. There is nothing in "Henslowe's Diary" to establish that he was an actor as well as an author: on p. 163 he is introduced as a partner with Drayton and Hathway, in the composition of a play called "Owen Tudor;" and in two other places (pp. 158,

178) he is stated to have been aided by the old manager with the loan of sums of money. Nevertheless, we know, on unquestionable evidence, that he was an actor of considerable standing, as well as an author: he was selected as one of the Queen's Players in 1583, on account of his "quick, delicate, refined, extemporal wit;" and Francis Meres celebrated him for the same qualities in 1598, two years before "The Shoemakers' Holiday" was published. In this play, we may presume that he contributed much of the broad fun; and we see that he acted the part of Firke, one of the merry jovial journeymen shoemakers of old Eyre, the hero. Therefore, although nothing is said by Henslowe to establish that Wilson was one of the actors in, as well as a writer for, his company, there can be no dispute as to the fact. At the same time, we cannot satisfactorily explain why his name does not appear in the list of sharers, before extracted, under the date of 10th July, 1600: the celebrated Edward Alleyn, the founder of Dulwich College, is also not found there, but he was a partner with Henslowe in the theatrical undertaking, and it is just possible (though we are without proof of it) that Wilson was in the same condition. The "Alleine," who sustained the female part of Sibill, must have been Richard Alleyn, who had joined Henslowe's company in March, 1598 ("Diary," p. 259).

I have already observed, that in the list of *dramatis personæ* I have spelt all the names just as they appear in the old manuscript in the margin of my friend's copy of "The Shoemakers' Holiday, or the Gentle Craft." Downton, who had the most important part in the performance, usually spelt his own name Downton; but by Henslowe it is as often written Dowton: and a famous comedian, of the same name, whom many can yet remember, used to say, that his family had been connected with the stage as long as it could be traced back. The coincidence may deserve notice, even though the Downton of twenty years ago did not pretend to

be able to name his dramatic ancestors beyond his great grandfather. Without going over ground I have already trodden, I will just touch upon the names of each of the players in succession, as they stand in the list I have made out.

Jones I take to be the “Dicke Jones” so often spoken of in “Henslowe’s Diary:” he had to double his part; for he not only played the King, but Dodger, the Earl of Lincoln’s spy. The same appears to have been the case with Humphrey Jeffes, to whom are assigned the characters of the attendant Nobleman, and Jane, the wife of Raphe: he was therefore a valuable performer, who, as occasion required, could sustain either male or female parts; and he was one of the sharers who acknowledged their debt to Henslowe on 10th July, 1600. Samuel Rowley, the dramatist and actor, comes next: he was the Earl of Lincoln of the play, and was also a sharer. Shawe (or Shaa, as he spelt his own name) stood in the same relation, and seems on many occasions to have been put forward as one of the leaders of the association: nevertheless, he is not found in the Household-book of Prince Henry. Charles Massy, who appears to have been an actor of ability, (his part of Rowland Lacy is by no means an easy one) either then made a fresh agreement with Henslowe, or came into the company at the same time as Samuel Rowley; viz., 16th November, 1599, (“Diary,” 260) and subsequently obtained a good deal of distinction.

Dowton, or Downton, was an actor under Henslowe in 1594, (“Diary,” 7) and must have been a very eminent comedian, to sustain adequately the broad drollery and humorous jollity of Simon Eyre, the shoemaker, who, during the play, by his own industry and a freak of fortune, becomes first Sheriff and afterwards Lord Mayor. John Singer was a famous actor of Clowns, (mentioned with applause by several contemporaries) to whose talents the character of Hodge seems hardly equal; but he perhaps took it in order to make the cast and the attraction of the play complete.

Wilson had a very merry, rattling character, in Firke; and we need entertain little doubt that he wrote it himself, and for himself, with abundant latitude for his extemporizing powers. Edward Jewby, or Juby, was the last who subscribed the acknowledgment of debt to Henslowe on 10th July, 1600; and having been with the old manager in 1594, he continued one of the Prince's Players after James I. came to the throne. He must have been a useful actor; but the part of Ralphe, the lame soldier, would not much tax or test such powers as he possessed.

Towne we may suppose to have been an experienced actor in 1600, and he died, by no means young, in the beginning of the reign of James I. He is mentioned by Henslowe in 1593, concluding that John Towne, on p. 5 of the "Diary," was miswritten for Thomas Towne: if not, we first hear of him on 14th December, 1594. Of Flower I have nothing more to say; and of Price I have only to add, that Mr. Collier, in his "Hist. Engl. Dram. Poetry," i., 351, has misprinted his name Pryore, in enumerating the Players of Prince Henry. Anthony Jeffes was most likely an inferior actor to Humphrey Jeffes, and did not occupy the rank of a sharer in 1600: his part in "The Shoemakers' Holiday" was rather insignificant. Jones and Day I have already noticed.

The character of Dame Eyre, given to William Birde, (or Borne, as he is frequently called by Henslowe) is far from an easy one; and her affected airs of consequence and rank, after she becomes the wife of the Sheriff and Lady Mayoress, so admirably contrasted with the continued good humour and good fellowship of her husband, would afford much scope to a well qualified actor. What is given to Jane is very prettily written, and may be assigned to the pen of Dekker; and if Humphrey Jeffes gave due effect to it, in point of feeling and delicacy, it could only be the poverty of the company that made him also the Nobleman, who is little

more than a walking gentleman, attendant upon the King. The earliest date at which we find Humphrey Jeffes mentioned is 1598, when he and his brother Anthony were indebted to Henslowe. (“Diary,” 99.)

“Dowton’s boy Ned” was doubtless a promising young performer ; and at this period it was the well known custom of older actors to have boys apprenticed to them for tuition, who generally sustained female characters : that of Rose has not much in it, but love and simplicity. Sibill is her waiting maid, and we may be somewhat surprised to see Richard Alleyne employed as her representative, when we bear in mind that (if it be the same) he was an actor in Henslowe’s pay as early as 1593 (“Diary,” p. 5): possibly he was then very young, and his beard in 1600 may not yet have disqualified him for such epicene duties.

The “Two Merry Three-mens Songs,” spoken of in the introductory epistle, are printed before the play, as well as the Prologue ; and what is remarkable is, that the names not only of the singers, but of the prologue-speaker, are inserted in MS. in my friend’s copy of “The Shoemakers’ Holiday.” These I shall venture to transcribe, for their rarity and peculiarity, precisely as they stand in the original. It should seem as if most of the actors of that day could sing enough for such a purpose ; and we find, from the margin, that Wilson, Massy, and Singer, were the persons to whom was entrusted

“The first Three-mans Song.”

“O, the month of Maie, the merrie month of Maie,
So frolicke, so gay, and so greene, so greene, so greene !
O, and then did I unto my true loue say,
Sweete Peg, thou shall be my Summers Queene.

“Now the Nightingale, the prettie Nightingale,
The sweetest singer in all the Forrests quier,
Intreates thee, sweete Peggie, to heare thy true loues tale :
Loe, yonder she sitteth, her breast against a brier.

"But O, I spie the Cuckoo, the Cuckoo, the Cuckoo ;
 See where she sitteth ; come away, my joy :
 Come away, I prithee, I do not like the Cuckoo
 Should sing where my Peggie and I kisse and toy.

"O, the month of Maie, the merrie month of Maie,
 So frolicke, so gay, and so greene, so greene, so greene ;
 And then did I unto my true loue say,
 Sweet Peg, thou shalt be my Summers Queene."

It does not appear precisely in what part of the performance this musical piece of merriment was introduced ; but of the second we are informed, that it "was to be sung at the latter end" of the comedy. No place, however, is marked for its insertion, and I do not well see how it could have been brought in after the King's formal closing speech. Possibly, strict propriety was not consulted, and the song might be brought in there, "in order to dismiss the spectators the more merrily." It was given by "Singer, Wilson, and the Boy," as the MS. marginal note states, and it runs thus:—

"The Second Three-mans Song.

"Cold's the wind, and wet's the raine,
 Saint Hugh be our good speede !
 Ill is the weather that bringeth no gaine,
 Nor helps good hearts in neede.

"Trowle the boll, the jolly Nut-browne boll,
 And here kind mate to thee !
 Let's sing a dirge for Saint Hughes soule,
 And down it merrily.

"Downe a downe, hey, downe a downe,
 Hey derrie derrie down a down. [*Close with the tenor, boy.*
 Ho ! well done, to me let come,
 Ring compasse, gentle ioy !

“ Trowle the boll, the Nut-browne boll,
And here kind, &c., *as often as there be men to drinke.*

At last, when all have drunke, this verse.

“ Cold’s the wind, and wet’s the raine,
Saint Hugh be our good speede :
Ill is the weather that bringeth no gaine,
Nor helpes good hearts in neede.”

“The boy” might be either “Dowton’s boy Ned,” or some other youth, brought in for the occasion, if it were not thought right that Rose, in her female attire, should join in “Troll the bowl, the jolly nut-brown bowl,” &c. It is clear, from the printed marginal note, that the tenor voice was that of a boy.

I cannot think that any of our members will be of opinion that I have gone too much at large into this interesting matter. I consider the comedy, (excellent in most respects in itself, and well worth reprinting) with its manuscript marginal notes, one of the most curious dramatic relics of the time of Shakespeare; and how much would not any of us have given for a copy of one of his plays, thus annotated, shewing by whom the different characters were acted, by whom the songs were sung, and even by whom the Prologue was spoken! This last is headed—

“ The Prologue as it was pronounced before the Queenes Majestie.”

And opposite, in the margin, the same contemporary who made the other marginal notes (no mark of ownership is extant, on any part of the copy) has written “Towne loqr,” meaning, of course, that Towne, who had the part of Hammond in the play, and comes in late, so that he would have time to re-dress, delivered the preliminary lines, when the piece was acted before the Queen. We may be pretty confident that all the parts are marked as they were cast for that

occasion. With the Prologue, which has little merit, but plenty of adulation, I shall conclude my extracts and my remarks.

"As wretches in a storme (expecting day)
 With trembling hands and eyes cast up to heauen,
 Make Prayers the anchor of their conquerd hopes,
 So we (deere Goddesse wonder of all eyes)
 Your meanest vassalls (through mistrust and feare,
 To sinke into the bottome of disgrace,
 By our imperfit pastimes) prostrate thus
 On bended knees our sailes of hope do strike,
 Dreading the bitter stormes of your dislike.
 Since then (unhappy men) our hap is such,
 That to ourselues our selues no help can bring,
 But needes must perish, if your saint-like eares
 (Locking the temple where all mercy sits)
 Refuse the tribute of our begging tongues,
 Oh! graunt (bright mirror of true Chastitie)
 From those life-breathing starres, your sun-like eyes,
 One gracious smile; for your celestially breath
 Must send us life, or sentence us to death."

DRAMATICUS.

7th November, 1848.

PS. 20th November. Since the above was written, I have succeeded in prevailing upon my friend to allow the whole of this rare and excellent play to be reprinted. I apprehend that he means to do it at his own expense; but, if not, I will not fail to send an accurate transcript of the first edition to the Secretary of the Shakespeare Society. It has not been reprinted for two hundred years, and all the impressions are, I believe, scarce.

ART. XII.—*On Norton and Sackville, the authors of "Gorboduc," the earliest blank verse Tragedy in our language.*

Mr. W. D. Cooper's *Memoirs of Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville*, which precede the reprint of their tragedy of "Gorboduc," (as it came from the press of William Griffith, in 1565) are so complete and satisfactory, that very little can be added to them; and I should not perhaps have considered it necessary to add anything, were they not persons of great importance in the history of our early drama, as the authors of the first tragedy (properly so called) in blank verse in our language. It was acted, as all our members are aware, in 1561, while Gascoigne's "Jocasta," (a translation in blank verse from the Greek) which perhaps may claim the second place, was not performed until 1566.¹

First, as to Thomas Norton. Mr. Cooper has, of course, not omitted to mention that he was Counsel to the Stationers' Company, and he has given the dates upon this point very correctly from the Registers: the first payment of Norton's fee, for the discharge of this duty, is in the Warden's Accounts from July, 1561, to July, 1562; but I am able to supply the date and terms of his appointment from the same source of information, as well as to show that Norton was not the first Counsel the Stationers' Company employed. Twelve years

¹ I cannot refuse to avail myself of this opportunity of noticing the reprint of this play, with three other dramatic pieces of a still earlier date, under the care of Mr. Francis James Child, of Cambridge, in the United States. The three other pieces are interludes well known in this country—"Thersites," "Jack Juggler," and the "Pardoner and the Frere," the two first anonymous and unique, (in the library of the Duke of Devonshire) and the last by John Heywood, a production of great humour and ability. Mr. Child's unpretending introduction does him great credit, and we heartily rejoice to perceive the growing interest taken in such matters on the other side of the Atlantic. Not a few of the most zealous members of our Society are natives of the United States.

before Norton was retained, Ralph Cholmeley had acted in the same capacity, as is evident from the following memorandum, signed by himself, and pasted on the fly-leaf of the earliest Register.

"Anno 1550, the 13 of marche, Maister Sholmeley, of Lincolne inne, promised to bee of counsaile with the compane of Stationers, when they shuld conveniently desyre hym.

"RANULPHUS CHOLMELEY.

"To be of Councell ut supra."

What fee was given to Mr. Cholmeley we have no means of knowing, no entry of any such payment being found in the books; but that allowed to Norton, in the first instance, was only 20s. per annum; and it will be seen presently that it was granted in the form of an annuity. Subsequently, as Mr. Cooper states, (p. xliv.) the fee was doubled, and the same remuneration was constantly entered to Richard Grafton, (the son of the printer) who succeeded Norton in 1584. It appears that Norton's first and formal appointment took place on 12th December, 1562, by an instrument in Latin, which is referred to in the following document in English, written by the clerk, and subscribed in their own writing by the various members of the company whose names are appended. The title shows that Cawood, Seres, and Tottell, were Master and Wardens when the original grant was made: but Cawood, Loblay, and Harrison, were Master and Wardens when what may be called the confirmation was signed, on 22nd January, 1562-3.

THIS ANNUITIE WAS GYVE AND
GRAUNTED IN THE TYME OF M^r.
CAWOD, M^r. SERYS, AND M^r. TOTTLE,
THEN BEYNGE M^r. AND WARDENS.

"Annuitie gyve and graunted by the m^r. wardens and assestantes of the company of stacioners vnto Thomas norton,

of London, gentelman, the yerely pention of xx^s., to be payd at ij sevyrrall paymentes, as yt appereth by his letter of Annuitie under our common seale of our company, bearynge date the xij daye of Decembre, A^o 1562, and in the vth yere of the Reaugne of our soveraigne lady Elysabeth, by the grace of god quene of englonde, Fraunce, and Irelonde, defendour of the faythe, &c. In consideration of his Counsell and paynes donne, and here after to be donne, in all mannour of matters of Counselles and contraverces of the Lawe, as yt apperethe further by his sayde letter patent, w^{ch} graunte paste the yere and daye afore sayde, by the assente and consente of John Cawod, maister, mygehell Loble and Rycharde Haryson, wardens, Rycharde Waye, Reayne Wolfe, steavell kevall, Symonde Coston, John Wally, Thomas Duxsell, Rycharde Jugge, John Judson, William Seres, Rycharde Tottle, Roger Irelonde, Roberte Holder, and Thomas Purfoote, assestaunces. In wytnes where of, we the sayd m^r. wardens and assestauntes hath here under sett our names w^t our owne handes, the xxij of Januarij. A^o 1562.

By me, JO. CAWOOD.

By me, CHELL LOBLAY.

By me, RYCHARD HARRYSON.

REGINALDE WOLFF.

By me, RYCHARD TOTTYLL.

ROBERT HOULDER.

By me, THOMAS PURFOOTE.

JOHN WALEY.

RYCHARD JUGGE.

ROGER YERLOND.

WILLM SERES.

JHON JUDSON."

In the account-books, this annuity of twenty shillings, and subsequently of forty shillings, is regularly entered as paid to Mr. Norton, "our Counsellor." He was born in 1532:

consequently, in 1562 he was thirty years old; and I cannot help suspecting that the Thomas Norton, who in 1565 entered himself at Pembroke Hall, Oxford, may have been a different man; for thirty-three is a very advanced age for any man, even at this time, to become a student of a University, and much more so early in the reign of Elizabeth, when it was the custom to send mere schoolboys to Oxford and Cambridge. It is possible that there is some error in the date, and if for 1565 we could read 1555, it would remove this part of the difficulty. However, 1555 is said to be the year when Norton entered himself at the Middle Temple, (p. xxxvi.) and it does not seem likely that ten years afterwards, and three years subsequent to his appointment as counsel to the Stationers' Company, he should have gone to the University. Moreover, Mr. Cooper has shown that Norton published his translation of Calvin's "Institutions of the Christian Religion" in 1561; that his "Gorboduc" was acted at Whitehall on the 18th January, 1561-2, and printed in 1565; and that the version of the Psalms to which he had contributed came out in 1562. At and after this date, also, his fee was regularly paid to him annually as Counsel to the Stationers' Company. Perhaps Mr. Cooper, who evidently understands very well what he is about, may be able to clear up my doubts upon this point.

There is another circumstance contained in the Stationers' Registers, on which it may be fit to say a word, especially as it is immediately connected with Norton. I find there not unfrequent entries of sums of £5 advanced by the Master and Wardens to young men just out of their apprenticeships, under what is called in the books "Mr. Norton's bequest." It appears that a person of the name of Norton (no Christian name is given) left a sum of money to be lent, £5 at a time, on condition and security for its return. Now, Mr. Cooper has shown that the nuncupative will of "Thomas Norton, of Sharpenhoe, in the County of Bedford, Esquire," was proved

on 15th April, 1584, where nothing is said of any such bequest, and very possibly he may be in a condition to prove whether the principal sum, out of which interest for this purpose was derived, was or was not the gift of Thomas Norton, the author of "Gorboduc," or of another Norton, a stationer, connected with the Company.

I now come to Thomas Sackville, his coadjutor in the tragedy, afterwards Baron Buckhurst and Earl of Dorset, and what I have to say of him is of a different kind. It is merely to introduce to the knowledge of our members a discovery I recently made among the papers of a friend, viz: some verses by Sackville, no where mentioned: they are to be included among what Anthony Wood calls Sackville's "lost or forgotten poems," many of which he wrote in comparative youth. He was created Baron Buckhurst as early as 1567, and the verses in question are subscribed with his initials, T. B.; but still stronger evidence of authorship is afforded by the fact that they are in his own handwriting, which I recognised in a moment while turning over my friend's portfolio. They are the more curious, if not the more interesting, because they are biographical, relating to the deaths of Sir Philip and Sir Thomas Hoby, or Hobby. Sir Thomas Hoby was an author, and translated the *Cortegiano* of Baldessar Castiglione in 1561, preceded, among other things, by some commendatory lines by Thomas Sackville. Sir Philip Hoby was one of Queen Elizabeth's representatives at the Court of the Emperor. Sackville's epitaph consists of three elegiac stanzas upon the two brothers, and runs thus:—

On Sir Philip and Sir Thomas Hobby.

Two woorthie knightes, and Hobbyes both by name,
Inclosed within this marble stone do rest;
Phillippe, the first, in Cæsars coort hath fame,
Such as to fore few legates like possest.
A diepe discoursing head, a noble breast,
A courtier passing, and a courteis knight,

Zelous to God, whos gospell he profest
 When greatest stormes gan dym the sacred lyght.
 A happie man, whom Death hath now redemed
 From care to ioy that can not be esteamed.

Thomas in Fraunce possest the legate's place,
 And with such wisdom grew to guide the same,
 As had encreast great honnor to his race,
 If sodden fate had not envyed his fame.
 Firme in God's trueth, gentell, a faithfull frend,
 Well learned and languaged: nature, beside,
 Gaue comelie shape, which made vnfull his ende,
 Sence in his floure in Paris towne he dyed:
 Leauinge with childe behind his wofull wife,
 In foren land, opprest with heapes of grieve.

From part of which when she discharged was
 By fall of teares, that faithfull wiefes doo sheade,
 The corps with honor brought she to this place,
 Performinge ther all dew vnto the dead.
 That done, this noble tombe she causd to make,
 And both thes brethren closed within the same,
 A memorie leaft here for vertues sake,
 In spite of death, to honnor them with fame:
 Thus liue they dead, and we learne well therby.
 That ye, and we, and all the worlde most die.

T. B.

With a view to other purposes, I shall feel much obliged to any Member of the Shakespeare Society who can furnish me with particulars relating to the lives and employments of these two distinguished men. Where were they buried, and does any such monument still exist?

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

Kensington, 17th October, 1848.

ART. XIII. — *A few observations on the composition of the "Midsummer Night's Dream."*

The perusal of a very clever article on the "Midsummer Night's Dream," in the "Edinburgh Review" for April, 1848, has suggested the following brief observations, which, it is hoped, will be received with the indulgence required by the discussion of a subject of the greatest intricacy, on which scarcely two minds can be found to agree.

The great difficulties which surround all æsthetic commentary on this play arise in some measure from its unity of action and of purpose having been considered axiomatical. If, however, we approach the subject without any preconceived opinion formed upon the results of an examination of other plays of the great dramatist, and regard the "Midsummer Night's Dream" *sui generis*, an anomaly not regulated by ordinary laws, we shall find the discussion less intricate. In fact, our chief perplexity will be the necessity of disconnecting some particular action from the rest, and regarding it as a subsequent invention. Now, I think it must be admitted, that the reviewer is unquestionably right in his opinion that the fairies constitute the main action. Remove them from the scene, and the play would be an impotent skeleton, variegated with a few narrow robes of exquisite poetry. How, or in what manner, the poet formed his frame-work—and a beautiful and graceful frame it is—is a question accessible only to conjecture. The permutations of Shakespeare's fancy were infinite, and here, as elsewhere, they have resolved themselves into an organic and systematic whole.

And yet mere theories on the subject are attractive—so attractive, that almost every student forms one for himself. I somewhat unwillingly add another to a list already sufficiently extensive, and commence by asking whether, in discussing

the question, the social position of Shakespeare, as affecting the form of his works, has been properly considered by the critics? It would seem, after what we have been told by a recent school, little better than heresy to doubt the perfection of the results of the poet's genius, yet who will venture to say that his plays, as they have descended to us, are the same that would have been presented to the world had the author not been more or less dependant upon popular favour? Shakespeare's object in writing was to please an audience—to fill a theatre. We are not even to presume that he disregarded the opinion of the denizens of the gallery. Is it to be supposed that, under such circumstances, he would venture to introduce a play composed entirely of ethereal poetry before a public insufficiently refined to appreciate it? May not the "clowns" be the result of this position; and can we be certain that, under other conditions, Bottom, the weaver,¹ inimitable as he is, would not have been exchanged for a more ethereal character?

¹ The Reviewer (p. 426) has fallen into a slight oversight respecting a piece entitled "The Merry Conceited Humours of Bottom the Weaver," 1661, which consists only of the comic portions of the "Midsummer Night's Dream," converted into a farce, or droll. The error is easily accounted for, by the rarity of the tract, which the Reviewer had evidently not seen. I cannot, however, think that the artisans, even at that period, were supposed to constitute the main action of the drama. The existence of the droll, and other circumstances alleged by the Reviewer, may be readily accounted for by the superior popular attraction of the comic parts. Drolls were frequently formed in that manner, and they are, therefore, no evidence of the critical opinion of the period. I may here remark, that it requires a close examination to enable us to reconcile the discourse of Bottom, in act iv., sc. i., with the conclusions that have generally been drawn from his language in the earlier part of the drama. Here he is a clever humourist, and although, as throughout the play, exhibiting a consciousness of superiority, yet he is without his former absurdities. Is it quite certain that his wrongly-applied phrases in the second scene of the first act are not intended to proceed from his whimsical humour?

In adopting, or rather suggesting, this line of argument, I am not losing sight of the "essentially dramatic" nature of the play; neither do I dissent in the least from the opinion of its absolute harmony and congruity. But the poet's genius could have harmonized, had it been necessary, far more discordant elements than these. All that I am venturing to suggest, is the possibility of the introduction of the artisans having been occasioned by the external circumstances in which the author was placed. With respect to the drama itself, we are somewhat in Miranda's position when she first saw Ferdinand, and cannot believe in the existence of a lovelier object. But the hand that wrought that fairy picture, and introduced into it a company of illiterate workmen, without shocking the ideal—what would he not have accomplished had he further isolated his enchantments from the external world?

Without some modifying explanation of this kind, the grouping, although so wonderfully connected as to conceal its inconsistency, almost appears as the inexplicable work of a mind that had passed the "thin partitions" which separate genius from insanity. Even as it is, unnatural combinations have been formed, to harmonize the conditions of the various actions. The statures of Oberon and Titania are inconsistent with the author's picture of their fairy kingdom. This insuperable difficulty has been admitted by the Reviewer, p. 421, but in despair of any solution of the enigma; and artists¹ fail to reconcile the discordant conditions of the problem.

There is, then, a certain oversight, an inconsistency that would probably have been avoided, had not the original purpose been overwhelmed by complicated actions. To adopt the theory that the fairies are the primary conception of the

¹ Not excluding even Mr Paton, whose beautiful picture of the Reconciliation of Oberon and Titania is the nearest approach to an illustration worthy of the play that has yet been produced.

piece, *ibid.*, p. 427, and that the ulterior creation of the groups occasioned that inconsistency, appears the most feasible conjecture. It appears to me, however, that the Reviewer refines too much on the probabilities of the author's system of formation, when he follows this by expressing his opinion that Shakespeare wished to represent the fairies in contact with two strongly marked extremes of human nature.

It is by no means impossible to give Shakespeare credit for a much greater refinement of the ideal than he actually shared: for, notwithstanding the unlimited extent of his imagination, there can be no doubt that modern reasoning has unfolded systems of argument "not dreamt of" even "in his philosophy." I am aware the suggestion will be considered prosaic, and inconsistent with many hundred pages that have been reared upon a different belief. But Shakespeare was writing for a public of an earlier age—in all the freshness of merry, laughter-loving England, when even philosophy on the stage required a joke to render it palatable. Every kind of rational philosophy was evolved by the workings of his mind. But it was a consequence, not a cause; and it is inconsistent with every known fact in his life to suppose that his dramas were formed without a reference to the taste of the individuals before whom they were to be produced.

J. O. HALLIWELL.

2nd December, 1848.

ART. XIV.—*On Massinger's "Believe as you List," a newly discovered manuscript Tragedy, printed by the Percy Society.*

As a member of the Percy Society, I have just received what must be looked upon as a valuable literary curiosity—the impression of a lost play by Philip Massinger, called, "Believe as you List." No explanatory or other notes are appended to it, excepting merely such as relate to the state of the manuscript; which, as well as the license by the Master of the Revels, bears date 6th of May, 1631. I am sorry for it on all accounts, and more especially because the accomplished editor, Mr. Crofton Croker, would have been able, had his leisure allowed, to have subjoined much useful, and sometimes necessary, illustrative matter.

My purpose is not now so much to attempt to supply this deficiency, as to ask a question, the answer to which may possibly explain some points regarding which I am now somewhat in the dark.

My question relates to the prologue, which, with the epilogue, is annexed to the "tragedy:" it commences in these words and letters:—

"[Soe] far our author is from arrogance,
That he craves pardon for his ignorance
In storie, if you pride what's Roman here,
Greacian or Asiatique, drawe to nere
A late, and sad example, 'tis confest,
Hee's but an English stroller at his best,
A stranger to cosmographie," &c.

I suspect more than one misprint in this passage; and I am half afraid, from this and other indications, that Mr. C. Croker employed some person to transcribe the old manuscript who was not sufficiently familiar with the writing of the time: the punctuation must also be wrong, but the editor (whether rightly or not is another question) professes to

follow not only the old spelling, but the pointing. I will venture to modernize both, and then I will put my question, founded on what I suppose is the correct reading.

"[So] far our author is from arrogance,
That he craves pardon for his ignorance
In story. If you *find* what's Roman here,
Grecian or Asiatic, draw *too* near
A late and sad example, 'tis confest
He's but an English *scholar* at his best,
A stranger to cosmography," &c.

"English *stroller*" may possibly be right, in reference to the profession of an actor, though we have no information that Massinger was ever an actor as well as a dramatist; but "English *scholar*," in reference to the author's ignorance of "cosmography," and Roman, Grecian, or Asiatic "story" and manners, seems the true reading: the change of *pride* to "finde" is, however, absolutely necessary for the sense of the passage; and, adopting for the present both these amendments, my question is this—to what do the remarkable words "a late and sad example" relate? The author is apologizing for making the incidents of his drama "draw too near *a late and sad example*"—what "late and sad example" was there? Had the manuscript borne date after the sufferings of Charles I., we might have imagined that the poet alluded to the parallel, in some respects very obvious, between the misfortunes and deposition of the late King and the expulsion and sufferings of Antiochus; but both Massinger on his title-page, and Sir Henry Herbert in his license, have fixed the day and year "6 of May, 1631."

Nevertheless, it is to be observed that the prologue and epilogue occupy the last leaf of the manuscript, and follow (according to the impression before me) the authorization of the licenser; and I am not at all sure that the prologue and epilogue were not subsequent compositions, written for some occasion when the "tragedy" was revived, perhaps not very

long after Charles I. had been brought to the scaffold. The objection may be that plays were suppressed in 1647; but do we not know that the orders of persons in power in this respect were often contravened? Admitting, however, that the orders for putting down the stage were effectual, it may turn out, though I know of no authority on the point, that "Believe as you List" was revived after the Restoration, and that the prologue and epilogue were added then. I only put this as a conjecture, which the original manuscript in Mr. C. Croker's hands may or may not confirm; but it is one mode, as it occurs to me, of explaining the mysterious words, "a late and sad example."

Possibly they may be capable of some other solution, and, if one can be given, I shall hope to see it hereafter among "the Shakespeare Society's Papers;" for the Percy Society, which has issued "Believe as you List," and for which we are much obliged to them, does not put forth any similar miscellany, in which questions of the kind can be asked and answered.

In the most friendly spirit, I may take this opportunity of alluding to some misprints, which, after all, may, in fact, be no misprints, but faithful representations of defects in the manuscript. As, however, Mr. C. Croker is of opinion, so stating in his preface, that Massinger himself went over and corrected the MS., it is the less likely that mistakes of the kind should remain in it. I point them out, after reading the drama; and if the reply shall be that the words stand in the manuscript precisely as they are given in the printed copy, I shall still venture to say that, in my humble opinion, it would have been as well to state it in a note, even if the editor did not feel himself warranted to correct the error in the text, informing the reader at the bottom of the page that he had taken that liberty.

The *ws* for *us* and *vs*, in such words as "wast," for *vast*, p. 4, "ws," for *us*, p. 30, and "lawolta," for *lavolta*, p. 66, I presume

is consistent with the manuscript; but I am not aware (speaking with much diffidence) that it was the custom in the reign of Charles I. so to misapply the letter *w*.

Demetri, p. 13, is clearly meant for "Demetrius:" either the name is so abridged in the manuscript, or the two concluding letters may have dropped out in the press.

In the first line of p. 16, *inglinge* ought unquestionably to be "juggling," or juggling, where Flaminius is talking to Berecinthus, the priest of Cybele, of the "juggling mysteries" of his religion. This is one of the errors that induce me to think that the transcriber of the manuscript was not as familiar as he ought to have been with old writing. There certainly is such an old word as *ingling*, but it is never so applied: see Gifford's Ben Jonson, iii., 444; Dyce's Middleton, v., 497; Gifford's Massinger, iv., 72; Halliwell's Archaic Dictionary, i., 476, &c.

The name *Asorubal*, pp. 26, 27, &c., should always have been printed "Asdrubal," as indeed it stands on p. 29, and elsewhere: on p. 33 the line cannot be read, unless we take it as a trisyllable, and there it is properly printed *Asdrubal*.

On p. 28 we must understand *fœdaries* "feodaries," a word that occurs in Shakespeare and in other writers of the time.

Deines, on p. 45, should be altered to "denies:" it is the mere transposition of a letter, but it makes nonsense of the passage.

Page 52, for *Arsaies* we must understand "Arsaces," in the passage

"— the Ægyptian Ptolomee,
And great *Arsaies* issue."

This may be a misprint, a misreading, or a miswriting in the manuscript.

The word "eyes" has been evidently omitted on p. 63, where the Queen says, according to the printed copy,

"I would indure to have theis hands cut of,
Theis pull'd out."

"Eyes" were often of old spelt *eies*, and the transcriber may have been misled by *theis*, which comes just before the word left out.

Few things are more common in old printing than the mistake I am now about to point out, where, either from the turning of the letter *n*, or from the mistake of the compositor, "lovely," (formerly spelt with *u* instead of *v*, as we now spell it) has been printed *lonely*. Such has been the case on p. 73, where Antiochus remarks to the courtesan,

"Pittie, me thinckes, I know not how, appeares,
Soe *lonely* in you."

The sense also is obscured by the old non-punctuation, which I have taken the liberty (as I venture to think Mr. C. Croker ought to have done) to correct.

On p. 82 we read thus:—

"Have you given *ower*
Accordinge to the sentence?" &c.

Ower is unintelligible, while the alteration of the word to "order" is so obvious, that the disfigurement of the text hardly needs to be pointed out, but still it is an error that offends the eye and ear.

We meet with another easy misprint on p. 88, where *Our* stands for "One," in this passage:—

"and faylinge in
Our sillable of our commission," &c.

The printer was perhaps led into the mistake by the recurrence of "our" in the same line.

The last mistake of the kind I shall think it necessary to point out occurs in the epilogue, which, like the prologue, may have been composed some years after the "tragedy" was written, on a revival. It opens with these lines:—

"The end of Epilogues, is to inquire
The *conjure* of the play, or to desire
Pardon for what's amisse."

This passage, so read and printed, (as Mr. Croker has given

it) has no meaning; but if we substitute "fortune" for *conjure*, it is as clear as the sun.

Having, I fear, occupied too much time and space with these matters, I will now endeavour to make some compensation by inserting the "cast" of the "tragedy," (its strict title to this designation may be doubted, though Massinger calls it so himself) made up from various scenes, where the actors are accidentally named instead of the parts they filled, or from the singular list, at the end, of the letters and papers that would be wanted to be in readiness for the six principal players as the piece proceeded. My *cast* has been a work of difficulty, and, in the cases of some of the minor performers, a matter of considerable doubt, more especially as a few of them doubled or even trebled their parts; and, as we here see, (the only instance of the kind that I am acquainted with) perhaps exchanged characters during the progress of the play. What follows might have been placed at the beginning of the drama, and it would have served not only to make the course and conduct of the plot more intelligible, but to show the relative importance of the characters, and the prominence of the actors who supported them.

Dramatis Personæ.

<i>Antiochus</i> , dethroned King of Syria . . .	J. Taylor.
<i>Flaminius</i> , the Roman Governor . . .	J. Lowin.
<i>Lentulus</i> , envoy from Rome . . .	R. Robinson.
<i>Marcellus</i> , Proconsul of Sicily . . .	R. Benfield.
<i>Berecinthius</i> , Flamen of Cybele . . .	T. Pollard.
<i>Chrysalus</i> , formerly slave to Antiochus . . .	E. Swanston.
<i>Demetrius</i> , Secretary to Flaminius . . .	W. Patrick.
<i>Amilcar</i> , Chief of the Senate of Carthage . . .	— Rowland.
1 Merchant of Asia	J. Honeyman.
2 Merchant of Asia	W. Penn.
3 Merchant of Asia	— Curt.
<i>Calistus</i> , a Freedman	T. Hobbes.

<i>Titus</i> , a Spy of Flaminius	. . .	R. Baxter.
<i>Queen</i> to Prusias		—. Balls.
<i>Cornelia</i> , wife to Marcellus	. . .	Nick.
Courtesan		Boy.

The above list does not include all the characters of the play, but all those to which actors can, I think, be assigned. With regard to the three female parts, and another of a Moorish woman, we are left much in the dark, and I have placed names against them with considerable hesitation. The actors who doubled their parts were W. Penn, who was also a Jailer; Rowland, who was also King Prusias; Patrick, who was also a Captain; and Baxter, who was also an officer and a servant, besides, as well as we can judge, delivering a speech or two as Demetrius. Rowland (an actor of whom we find mention no where else, that I am aware of) must also have trebled his small parts. Besides these, we hear in the course of the play of W. Mago, (misprinted Nago on p. 26) Gascoine, Herbert, and Harry Wilson: the last was a singer, and may have been son to Jack Wilson, of whom we hear in "Much ado about Nothing." It need hardly be added that the "tragedy" was got up and acted by the company called the King's players, all the names being those of performers in that association in 1631. As we know nothing of Rowland, so we are in the same state of ignorance as to Balls, who is constantly styled Mr. Balls: Nick was most likely apprentice to one of the older performers: to the Boy, for want of a better claimant, I have given the part of the Courtesan.

A MEMBER OF BOTH SOCIETIES.

January 9, 1849.

ART. XV.—*Beaumont and Fletcher's "Woman's Prize:" the day when it was acted, and the Prologue and Epilogue spoken.*

I observe that the Rev. Mr. Dyce, in his edition of "the Works of Beaumont and Fletcher," vii., 98, states that the comedy of "The Woman's Prize" was one of the plays "acted by the Red Bull actors after the return of Charles the Second;" and in support of his statement he quotes Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, iii., 272, where "Tamer Tamed" occurs in a list of dramas found among the papers of Sir Henry Herbert. Malone merely remarks that this list was *probably* furnished by the actors at the Red Bull soon after the Restoration. I have, however, before me an authority which shows the very day on which "The Woman's Prize," under the title of "The Tamer Tamed," was revived, viz., on the 24th of June, 1660, within a month after the entry of the King into London; and it must have been performed at the Red Bull. Moreover, I am able to furnish the very prologue and epilogue spoken upon the occasion, with the existence of which the Rev. Mr. Dyce was, of course, not acquainted, or he would not have quoted the second-hand authority of Malone, who only spoke from the document he found among Sir H. Herbert's papers.

They were written by Thomas Jordan, and are contained in one of his publications, "Printed for the Author," without date: but the year is of the less consequence, because in many instances it is supplied before the separate pieces in the volume, which has for title "A Nursery of Novelties in Variety of poetry. Planted for the delightful leisures of Nobility and Ingenuity." In order to render the information respecting "The Woman's Prize" complete, I shall quote the prologue and epilogue at length, observing that they are followed by "a Speech" made at the Red Bull on the very day preceding, reproving the auditors in the pit for rising and

coming upon the stage before the play was ended. It is necessary to mention this, inasmuch as it explains a passage in the ensuing, which is headed,

A Prologue to the Comedy call'd The Tamer Tamed,
June 24. 1660.

Enter, reading the Bill.

The *Tamer Tam'd*, what do the Players mean?
Shall we have *Rump* and *Rebel* in the scene?
Juncto's of safety with the righteous rabble
Of *Apron-Peers*, knights of Sir *Arthurs* Table?
Shall *Baxter*, *Hewson*, *Scot*, and *Fox* be nam'd?
These were our Tamers, but I hope they'r tam'd;
For those were men, who (in their holy rage)
Did things too horrid for a civil Stage,
Unless our company should all comply
To leave good language and speak Blasphemy.
This Play, *The Tamer tam'd*, is *Fletcher's* wit,
A man that pleas'd all pallats; therefore sit
And see the last scene out: pray do not run
Into confusion, till the Play be done.
Should strangers see you mix among us thus,
They would be apt to think you some of *Us*.
Pray keep your seats, you do not sit in fear,
As in the dangerous dayes of *Oliver*;
It is not now (in good time be it spoke)
"Enter the Red-coats," "Exit Hat and Cloak;"
But such a prosp'rous change doth now attend ye,
That those who did affront ye shall defend ye.

The Epilogue, spoken by the Tamer, a Woman.

With licence of my husband, I apply
My self to this honour'd society.
I fear I have offended the good laws
Of household government, and given cause

By my example (in this wilde assay)
 For some to put in practice what we play ;
 And, 'cause the *Breeches* now come near the make
 Of *Petty-coats*, may willingly mistake :
 These are old quarrels, and no doubt came in
 When *Adam* digged, and Madam *Eve* did spin.
 They'r ne'er the honestest for that, the crime
 Of bold Rebellion is older than Time.
 The breach of trust is old, the breach of Laws,
 Murther of Kings, witness the *good Old Cause* !
 But we exhibit to your Approbation,
 Not the *Rebellion*, but the *Reformation*.

The Rev. Mr. Dyce remarks (vii., 98) that "The Woman's Prize" was "one of the pieces in which the youthful Betterton distinguished himself, while an actor at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, in the company formed by Rhodes on the eve of the Restoration;" and he refers to an authority he supposes himself to have cited in his edition of Beaumont and Fletcher, vol. v., p. 3, where, however, nothing is said upon the subject. I conclude that there is an error in the reference; and, as I am interested in the question, I should be glad to learn where it is stated that Betterton played in "The Tamer Tamed" prior to the return of Charles the Second. Perhaps it is true; but it is clearly important, because, if he did, he no doubt had the part of Maria, Petruchio's second wife, who delivered the preceding epilogue. Without imputing any carelessness to the Rev. Mr. Dyce, who may well have overlooked the authority of Thomas Jordan, I think it will be admitted, that by the foregoing quotations I have supplied a deficiency in his information respecting "The Woman's Prize, or the Tamer Tamed."

H. G. NORTON.

Liverpool, November 27, 1847.

ART. XIV.—*Sir George Buc and the office of the Revels.*

The following letter from Sir George Buc to Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, Lord High Treasurer to King James I., is new to our dramatic history. Buc was Master of the Revels during the last six years of Shakespeare's life, and is known to have licensed the first performance of "The Winter's Tale." The Revels' house in St. John's, to which the letter alludes, was part of the old hospital of St. John's of Jerusalem, and must necessarily have been known to Shakespeare.

[*Harl. MS.*, 6850, rough draft of letter in Sir George Buc's handwriting.]

To the right hono^{ble} the Erle of Salisbury,
1. high Tresorer of England.

Most humbly I beseech y^r l^p to make fauorable allowance for a house for me for his māties better service in the office of the Revells, as also for these few other just and conscionable consyderations, viz:—

1. For that the house in St. Jones, granted to me by his māties l^{res} patents, and lately taken from me and from myne office is worth (wth the appurtenances) per ann. 50^{li}.

2. Itē, in consyderation that by the order of the Erl of Suff., l. Chamberlayn, I have hyred at a high and dear rate a convenient house for the office, the w^{ch} (as all other the like wthin this city) are dearly rented.

3. Itē, in consyderation that y^e sayd L. Chamberlayn hath enjoyned mee to place in this my house the King's stuff of the wardrobe and storehouse of the Revels, wherunto were allotted fayre and larg roomes in St Jones.

4. Itē, for y^t the late m^r of y^e Revells had allowance of 35^{li} p ann., notw^tstanding y^t hee was not at the charge of hyreing of any house, and besides had 100^{li} for his better recōpense.

5. Further, I humbly pray y^r L^p honorably to consyder y^t this office is the only reward of my long chargeable and faithfull service, doone in court and abroad, by land and by sea, in warr and in peace, for the space of well neere 30 yeeres: and is the best meanes of my living, w^{ch} to take away is a punishment due to notorious and capitall offenders, and not to loyall and serviceable subiects.

6. And for all w^{ch} just and honorable and conscionable considerations and for the long desire w^{ch} I haue had to doo y^r L^p hon^r and service, I must humbly pray y^r L^p to bee fauorable to this my pore sute, and I shall ever rest,

most humbly at y^r [Lordships]

comandement,

G. BUC.

The house at St. John's, "lately taken from me," was given by James I. to the Lord Aubigny. The new office was at St. Peter's Hill, in the City. The letter was, I believe, written in 1610;¹ and the Earl of Salisbury, to whom it is addressed, died in 1612.

PETER CUNNINGHAM.

Kensington, January 12, 1849.

¹ See "Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court," (printed for the Shakespeare Society) pp. xxi and xxii.

ART. XVII.—*Dispute between the Earl of Worcester's players and the Corporation of Leicester in 1586, from the records of that city.*

It appears from Mr. Thompson's work on the history of Leicester that, early in the reign of Elizabeth, the corporation discountenanced popular amusements. In 1566, they stopped the fees that had usually been paid to the bearwards, who kept bears for the amusement of the people, and to the players who had frequently performed in the Guildhall. In the year 1582, they forbade any dramatic performances except they were authorized by the Queen or the Lords of the Privy Council, and then the acting was to be witnessed by the mayor and his brethren only. This spirit was carried to so great an excess, that the mayor in 1586 appears to have provided Lord Worcester's players with a dinner as an inducement for them to proceed without playing, but the bribe was ineffectual, and a quarrel ensued, the particulars of which are here given. They are exceedingly curious, and I have to return my best thanks to Mr. Thompson for kindly sending a copy of them at my request.

J. O. H.

Willm Earle of Worcest^r hathe by his wrytynge, dated the 14 of January, A^o 28^o Eliz. Re., lycensed his s^rvaunts, vz., Robt. Browne, James Tunstall, Edward Allen, Wm. Harryson, Tho. Cooke, Richd. Johnes, Edward Browne, Ryc. Andrewes, to playe and goe abrode, using themselves orderly, &c., in these words, &c. These are therefore to require all suche her highness offycers to whom these p^rsents shall c^m, quietly and frendly, within yo^r severall p^rsincts and corporacons, to p^rmyt and suffer them to passe wth your furtherance, vsinge and demeanynge y^rselves honestly, and to give them (the rather for my sake) suche entertaynment as

other noble men's players have. In wytnes, &c., Mr. Mayor, Mr. George Tatam, Mr. Newcom, Mr. Jno. Heyrycke, Mr. Morton, Mr. Noryce, Mr. Robt. Heyrycke, Mr. Ja. Clarke, Mr. Ellys.

M^d. that Mr. Mayor did geve the aforesaid players an angell towards there dynner, and wild them not to playe at this p^rsent, beinge frydaye, the vj.th of marche, for that the tyme was not conveynyant.

The forsaid playors mett Mr. Mayor in the strete, neer Mr. Newcomb's housse, after the angell was geven a bowte a ij. howres, who then craved lycence to playe ageyne at there Inn, and he told them they shold not; then they went away and sed they wold playe, wheyther he wold or not, and in dispyte of hym, with dyvers other evyll and contemptuous words: witnes hereof, Mr. Newcome, Mr. Wycam, and Willm. Dethicke.

More, these men, cont^rye to Mr. Mayor's commandment, went with there drum and trumpytts thorowe the Towne, in contempt of Mr. Mayor; neyther wold com at his commandment by his offycers.

W^m Paterson, my lord Harbard's man
Thos. Powlton, my lord of Worcester's man } these ij. come.
they w^{ch} dyd so muche abuse Mr. Mayor in the aforeseyd words.

Nota. These seyde playors have submytted themselves, and are sorye for there words past, and craved p^don, desyeringe his worshyp not to wryte to there M^r. agayne them: and so upon there submyssyon they are licensed to playe this night at there inn, and also they have p^mysed that vppon the stage in the begynnyng of there playe, to shoe unto the hearers that they are lycensed to playe by M^r. Mayor, and with his good will, and that they are sorye for the words past.

ART. XVIII.—*Dryden, Killigrew, and the first company which acted at Drury Lane Theatre.*

A friend of many years standing, who knows my propensity to collect and possess anything illustrative of our early stage and drama, has presented me with a document of much value and interest, although, it must be owned, it relates to a period of our theatrical history when, as was said, "on the revival of one of Shirley's productions,

"Of our old plays, the humour, love, and passion,
Like doublet, cloke, and hose, are out of fashion:
That which the world call'd wit in Shakespeare's age,
Is laugh'd at as improper for our stage."

In fact, the document belongs to the middle of the reign of Charles II., but still it deserves to be made known and put in print; and, as instruments of a corresponding date have heretofore found their way into "The Shakespeare Society's Papers," I send a copy of it, in hopes that it may not be rejected by the Council. Surely it will find a passport to attention and respect, when I add that it relates to such poets as Dryden and Killigrew, and to such actors as Hart, Mohun, Lacy, Cartwright, and Kynaston, not to mention others of inferior note in the association of the King's Players.

The theatre in Drury Lane, which had been opened in 1663, at a cost of £1500, was burnt down in January, 1672, and compelled Killigrew, Dryden, and their acting associates to occupy the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, which had been abandoned by the Duke of York's Company when they removed to Dorset Garden, in 1671. The new theatre in Drury Lane, having been constructed at an expense of £4000, (although stated by Dryden, in his Prologue on the occasion, to be "a plain-built house") was opened on 26 March, 1674, and the deed, a copy of which I am about to introduce, shows the mode of raising the money among the performers. Nicho-

las Burt, (or Burght, as his name is sometimes spelt) an actor of considerable celebrity among the King's Players, had advanced £160 for building what is called a scene-house, "for the making and providing of scenes, machines, cloaths, apparel," &c., and the indenture in my hands was entered into by his co-partners in the undertaking, for the purpose of securing his money to him, and for paying the debt off by degrees. We may presume, perhaps, that the other sharers (if such they were) had likewise made advances for this and other parts of the edifice; and most likely similar engagements were entered into as regards them, though no other documents of the same kind have come down to us. I was not aware of the existence of this, until it was put into my hands by the friend to whom I am indebted for it, and to whom I beg hereby to express my obligation.

I need not enter into any farther explanation regarding it, because it speaks very clearly for itself, and shows that the site of Drury Lane Theatre in 1674 was precisely the same as that it now occupies, viz., "between Drury Lane and Bridges Street, in the parish of St. Martin in the Fields and St. Paul Covent Garden." It bears date only six days before the house was opened by the company; for the 20th March, 1673, was, at that period, the 20th March, 1674, and, as I have said, performances by the company commenced in it on 26th March, 1674. The document is as follows:—

THIS INDENTURE, made the twentieth day of March, in the six and twentieth yeare of the raigne of our Soveraigne Lord, Charles the Second, by the grace of God of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, defender of the faith—
Annoque Dni 1673.

Between Thomas Killigrew, Esq., and of the groomes of his Majesties bedchamber, Robert Lewright, Esq., John Dryden, Esq., Charles Hart, Michael Mohun, John Lacy, William Wintershall, William Cartwright, Robert Shatterall,

and Edward Kynaston, gentlemen, servants to the King and Queene's Majestie for the acting of Comedies, Tragedies, and other Interludes of the one part, and Nicholas Burt, gentleman, servant to the King and Queene's Majestie as aforesaid, of the other part.

Whereas, the said Thomas Killigrew, Robert Lewright, John Dryden, Charles Hart, Michael Mohun, John Lacy, William Wintershall, William Cartwright, Nicholas Burt, Robert Shatterall, and Edward Kynaston, have disbursed and laid out amongst them several great sumes, of lawfull money of England, for the building of a scene house at the new playhouse, called the Theatre Royall, scituate betweene drury lane and Bridges Streete, in the parish of St. Martin's in the fields and of St. Paull's Covent garden, or one of them, in the county of Middx. for the makeing and providing of Scenes, Machins, Cloathes, apparell, and other things to be used in or relating to the acting of Comedies, Tragedies, and other Interludes at the said Theatre, or in any other place where the Company associated, or to be associated, for such acting shall act.

And whereas the said Nicholas Burt, for his share or part, did disburse and lay out the sume of One hundred and Threescore pounds of like money, part of the said severall sumes disbursed or laid out amongst them as aforesaid.

Now witness these presentes, That if the said Nicholas Burt shall continue as an Actor in the said Company till his death, and shall happen to dye within three yeares next after the day of the date hereof, That then his Executors or Administrators shall imediatly from and after his disease be allowed and paid by the said Company, out of the money and proffitts to be gotten by the acting of the said Company, or any of them, or any others to be hereafter added or joyned unto them, for everie day they shall act or play, the sume of One pound, thirteene shillings, and four pence, untill such execu-

tors or administrators be paid or satisfied the said sume of one hundred and threescore pounds.

Or, if the said Nicholas Burt shall at any tyme hereafter within the said three yeares be minded to give over, desist from, or leave off^e Acting in the said Company, and shall give notice in writing unto the said Thomas Killigrew, his executors, Administrators, or assign^{es} of such his mind three months before he doth soe leave off^e and give over as aforesaid, That then he, the said Nicholas Burt, soe leaveing off and giuing ouer as aforesaid, shall, from the end of the said Three monthes, be allowed and paid by the said Company, out of the proffitts and money gotten by the Acting of the said Company, or of any of them, or any others to be hereafter added or joyned unto them, for every day they shall Act or play, the sume of One pound, thirteene shillings, and foure pence, untill the said Nicholas Burt, sicknesse or other casualtie, become infirm, impotent, unable or unfitt to Act and performe his part, Imployment, and undertakeing in the said Actings and performances upon or for the vse of the stage and said Company of Actors, and shall be soe adjudged by the said Thomas Killigrew, his Executors, Administrators, or Assign^{es}, and the major or greater part of the said Company for the tyme being, That then he, the said Nicholas Burt, shall, from that tyme he shall be soe adjudged unable or unfitt, be allowed and paid, out of the money and proffitt gotten by acting by the said Company, or any of them, or any others hereafter to be added to them, for every day the said Company shall act or play the sume of one pound, thirteene shillings, foure pence by the day, untill the said Nicholas Burt, his executors or Administrators, be paid or satisfied the said sume of one hundred and Threescore pounds.

And the said Thomas Killigrew, Robert Lewright, John Dryden, Charles Hart, Michael Mohun, John Lacy, William Wintershall, William Cartwright, Robert Shatterall, and Edward Kynaston doe covenant, promise, grant, and agree

to and with the said Nicholas Burt, by these presente, That the said Thomas Killigrew, Robert Lewright, John Dryden, Charles Hart, Michael Mohun, John Lacy, William Wintershall, William Cartwright, Robert Shatterall, and Edward Kynaston, or some of them, and the Survivors or Survivor of them, shall and will well and truly pay, or cause to be paid, unto the said Nicholas Burt, his Executors or Administrators, the said sume of One pound, thirteene shillings, and foure pence by the day, according to the true intent and meaneing of these presentes.

And it is hereby agreed and declared by and betweene all these parties to these presentes, and the true intent and meaneing of these presentes. And the said Nicholas Burt, for him and his heires, &c., Covenant, agree, and grant to and with the said Thomas Killigrew, Robert Lewright, John Dryden, Charles Hart, Michael Mohun, John Lacy, William Wintershall, William Cartwright, Robert Shatterall, and Edward Kynaston, That for and during such and soe long tyme as the said One pound, thirteene shillings, and foure pence shall be payable to the said Nicholas Burt, his executors or administrators, by vertue of or according to the true meaneing of these presentes, the payment of the Five Shillings a day to him or them by force of One Indenture, beareing date the twelveth day of November, in the foure and twentieth yeare of his said Majesties raigne, made, or mentioned to be made, betweene them the said Thomas Killigrew, Robert Lewright, John Dryden, Charles Hart, Michael Mohun, John Lacy, William Wintershall, William Cartwright, Robert Shatterall, and Edward Kynaston of the one part, And the said Nicholas Burt of the other part, shall be suspended and cease: But after the said Nicholas Burt, his Executors or administrators, shall be paid or satisfied the said sume of One hundred and threescore pounds, by such daylie payments of one pound, thirteene shillings, and foure pence as aforesaid, Then the payment of the said Five shillings a

day shall revive againe, and from that tyme shall be paid the said Nicholas Burt, his executors or administrators, according to the purport, true intent, and meaneing of the said recyted Indenture, anything therein or in these presentes to the contrary conteyned notwithstanding.

And it is hereby alsoe agreed by all the parties to these presentes, and the true intent and meaneing of these presentes is, And the said Nicholas Burt, for him and his heires, doth covenant, agree, and grant to and with the said Thomas Killigrew, Robert Lewright, John Dryden, Charles Hart, Michaell Mohun, John Lacy, William Wintershall, William Cartwright, Robert Shatterall, and Edward Kynaston That such payment of the said sume of One hundred and Threescore pounds, in manner as aforesaid, unto the said Nicholas Burt, his Executors and Administrators, shall be in full satisfaction of his or their interest, right, tytle, clayme, or demand in or to the said Scene howse, Scenes, Machines, Cloathes, Apparell, and other things: And at that he, the said Nicholas Burt, his Executors or Administrators, after he or they shall be soe paid or satisfied the said sume of One hundred and Threescore pounds, shall release all such right, title, clayme, and demand unto the said Thomas Killigrew, Robert Lewright, John Dryden, Charles Hart, Michaell Mohun, John Lacy, William Wintershall, William Cartwright, Robert Shatterall, and Edward Kynaston, and the Survivors of them, and such others as shall be admitted sharers into the said Company, at their request, and costs, and charges: And that if the said Nicholas Burt continue an actor in the said Company dureing the said Three yeares, That then the said Scene howse, Scenes, Machines, Cloathes, apparell, and other things shall be for the use of him and the rest of the sharers of the said Company, according to the severall proportiōs and Shares.

And that if the said Nicholas Burt shall afterwards dye or leave off acting as aforesaid, or be adjudged unable or unfitt

as aforesaid, Then, after such leaveing or giveing over such adjudging uncapable or unfitt, or such death as aforesaid, which of them shall first happen, all the interest, right, title, clayme, and demand of the said Nicholas Burt in or to the said Scene howse, Scenes, Machins, Cloathes, Apparell, and other things shall goe and belong to the rest of the said Sharers, and that in such case he, his executors or Administrators respectively, shall release his or their interest, right, title, clayme, and demand therein or thereunto unto the rest of the said Sharers, or the Survivors of them, at their request, and cost, and charges.

Provided alwayes, And it is hereby agreed and declared by and betweene the said parties to these presentes, And the true intent and meaneing of them and of these presentes is, That if it shall happen That the said Company shall for any reason whatsoever forbear to act or play by the space of three months or more together, at any tyme or tymes within the space of the said Three yeares, That then all such tyme or tymes as they shall soe forbear to act or play shall be added to the said Three yeares, to the increase of them. And the totall shall to all intents and purposes in these presentes be and be accounted the tyme in every place of these presentes where the said Three yeares are mentioned and in Lawe or stead of the said Three yeares, as if such totall had, before the sealeing and deliverie of these presentes been therein inserted or written in every place where the said Three yeares and or be and in lawe or stead thereof.

And the said Thomas Killigrew, Robert Lewright, John Dryden, Charles Hart, Michaell Mohun, John Lacy, William Wintershall, William Cartwright, Robert Shatterall, and Edward Kynaston, joyntly and severally doe covenant, promise, grant, and agree to and with the said Nicholas Burt by these presentes, that the said Nicholas Burt, his Executors or administrators respectively, immediatly after he shall give notice of his being minded to leave off or give over acting or

playing as aforesaid, or be adjudged incapable or unfitt to Act as aforesaid, or shall dye, which of them shall first happen, shall be freed and discharged of and from all debts and sumes of money contracted, borrowed, or taken up, or at any tyme or tymes hereafter to be contracted, borrowed, or taken up, for the use of the said Company in relacōn to their acting or playing as aforesaid.

And that they, the said Thomas Killigrew, Robert Lewryght, John Dryden, Charles Hart, Michaell Mohun, John Lacy, William Wintershall, William Cartwright, Robert Shatterall, and Edward Kynaston, and the Survivors and Survivor, shall and will from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes from and after such notice given, or such adjudging incapable or unfitt, or such dyeing, which of them shall happen, save and keepe harmlesse and indemnified the said Nicholas Burt, his executors and administrators respectively, from and against all such debts and sumes of money, and all bonds, contracts, and securities, of what nature soever, given, entered into, or made by the said Nicholas Burt, as one of the said Company, by himselfe alone, or together with any other or others of the said Company, for the same or for any other matter or thing relating to the said Company. The Covenants herein and in the said recyted Indenture conteyned on the part and behalfe of the said Nicholas Burt, his Executors and administrators, to be performed and kept alwayes excepted.

In witnesse whereof, the parties to these presentes have to the same interchangably sett their handes and seales the day and yeare first above written, &c.

I have already alluded to the Prologue by Dryden on the opening of the house, and I may add that the Epilogue on the same occasion was by him also, and both may be seen in the ordinary editions of his works. I am in possession, however, of several prologues and epilogues by the same great

poet, which are not included in any impression of his plays or poems, and are not mentioned by Malone in his *Life of Dryden*. One or two of these are in print, having been sold as broadsides at the doors of the theatre, while others are in manuscript; and for the next volume of "*The Shakespeare Society's Papers*" I will have copies of them made, that they may be preserved in a more permanent form, than when they are in the hands of a private individual, and necessarily exposed to the danger of being mislaid or destroyed. I have never been afflicted with that species of literary avarice which would prevent the publication of valuable relics of the kind, in order that the owner might have the credit (or discredit I would call it) of exclusive possession. In some cases this is the only chance of celebrity for such persons, and they are the true "swine with rings of gold in their snouts:" they just know that they own something valuable, but in what its value consists most of them are utterly ignorant.

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

Kensington, January 16, 1849.

PS. Hart and Mohun were actors before the suppression of the Stage in 1647, so that they belong to the period to which the illustrations of the Shakespeare Society usually apply.

ART. XIX.—*Will of Samuel Daniel, the poet, Shakespeare's rival and contemporary.*

It has been, I think, fortunate for the illustration of our earlier literature, and the lives and writings of many of Shakespeare's eminent contemporaries, that the objects of the Society which bears the name of our greatest poet are not confined to his life and works alone, but that the funds of the Society are occasionally spent in printing (when there is lack of real Shakesperian matter) such new facts and materials, illustrative of the poets and poetry of his period, as the industry of its members can bring to light. The works of the Society contain occasionally so much that is curious on points of literary and biographical importance, that I am willing to hope the copy of the unpublished document which I now enclose (the will of no less a poet than Samuel Daniel) may not be thought out of place if inserted in some future volume of the "Shakespeare Society's Papers."

[*From the original in the Will Office of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.*]

T. SAMUELIS } In the name of God, Amen! I, Samuell
DANYELL } Danyel, sick in bodie, but well in mynde,
make heer my last will and testament.

First, I comitt my soule unto God, trusting to be saved by the pretious bloud and deathe of my Redemer, Jesus Christe; and my body to the earth, to be interred in the parishe church where I dye.

Item, I bequeathe to my sister, Susan Bowre, one feather bed, and wth the furniture thearto belonging, and such lynnens as I shall leave at my house at Ridge.

Item, I bequeathe to Samuell Bowre x^{li}.

Item, to Joane Bowre x^{li}.

Item, to Susan Bowre x^{li}.

Item, to Mary Bowre, x^{li}.

For the disposing of all other things, I referre them to my faithfull brother, John Danyel, whome I here ordaine my sole executor, to whose care and conscience I comitt the performance thereof,

And I likewise appoynt and ordayne my loving friend, Mr. Simon Waterson, and my brother in lawe, John Phillipps, to be overseers of this my last will and testament, whereunto I have set my hand and seal. Dated the 4th daye of September, 1619.

SAMUEL DANYEL.

Witnesses of this my last will and testament :

Umphery × Aldemes mark.

William × Wheatlyes mark.

The original will is written on one side of a sheet of foolscap paper, and signed by the poet himself, in a neat but rather tremulous hand, "Samuel Danyel." The words "Witnesses of this my last will and testament," are also in the poet's handwriting. His brother and executor, John Daniel, superintended the publication of the poet's works in 1623; and the volume, and it is a very handsome one, was published by Simon Waterson, the poet's "loving friend," and one of the overseers of his will. "Ridge," where the poet's house was, is a hamlet in the parish of Beckington, in Somersetshire. The church of Beckington contains a monument to his memory, erected at the expense of the famous Anne Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery, to whom he had been tutor.

Daniel held the appointment of Master of the Revels to Anne of Denmark, queen of James I. Shakespeare and Drayton were candidates for this appointment at the same time with Daniel; and in the interesting letter to the Lord Keeper Egerton, which Mr. Collier's industry brought to light, the new Master of the Revels observes to his patron,

by whose influence he no doubt obtained the appointment, that "the authour of playes now daylie presented on the public stages of London, and the possessor of no small gaines, and moreover himselfe an actor in the King's Company of Comedians, could not with reason pretend to be Master of the Queen's Majesty's Revels, forasmuch as he would sometimes be asked to approve and allow of his owne writings."¹ This author was Shakespeare.

PETER CUNNINGHAM.

Kensington, February 1, 1849.

¹ "New Facts regarding the Life of Shakespeare," p. 48, 12mo., 1835.

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